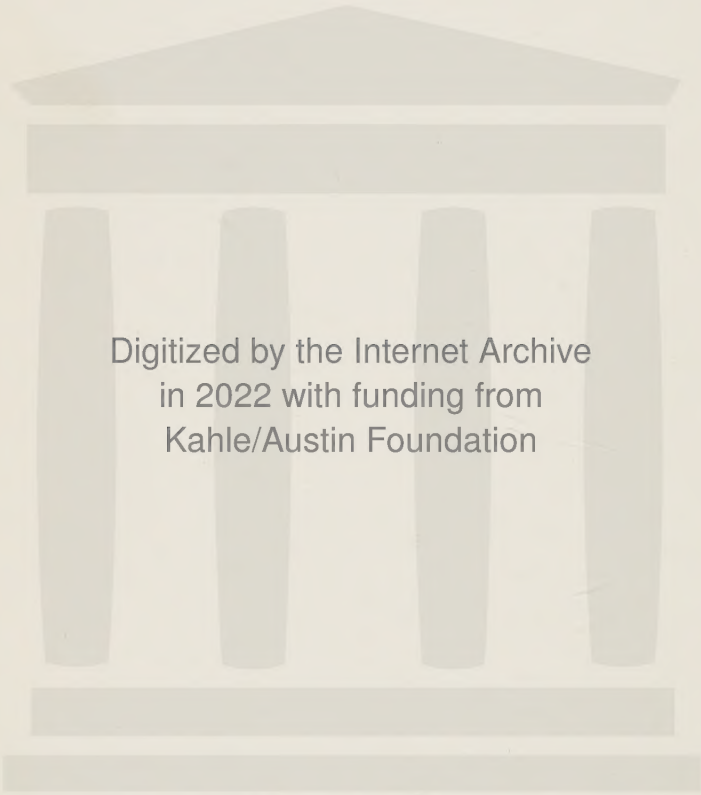
JULIA WARD HOWE AND THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

Julia Ward Howe and the Woman Suffrage Movement


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Julia Ward Howe and the Woman Suffrage Movement

By
FLORENCE HOWE HALL

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Julia Ward Howe
and the
Woman Suffrage Movement



JULIA WARD HOWE

Julia Ward Howe
and the
Woman Suffrage Movement

A SELECTION FROM HER SPEECHES AND ESSAYS,
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY HER DAUGHTER,

FLORENCE HOWE HALL

"The ballot, the most perfect weapon yet devised of moral and intellectual power. We do not wish to take it from the hands of any man; we would put it into the hands of every woman."

JULIA WARD HOWE.



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TO MY
GRANDDAUGHTERS,
AND THE
GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTERS OF
JULIA WARD HOWE

ELEANOR HALL
JULIA WARD HOWE HALL
FRANCES MINTURN HALL, 2D

Preface

THE wide-spread interest in the woman suffrage movement makes the present a fitting time to give to the public, the writings on this subject of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, poet, patriot and philosopher. Her experience of nearly half a century as a leader of the cause of woman's advancement, her rare culture and wide acquaintance with the best and most distinguished men and women of the day, invest her words with authority. Her happy family life as wife and mother, her poetic insight and devout spirit inspire them with a beauty, force and power seldom found in literature of

this description. We see reflected in the hopeful tone of the addresses, the new life, the great happiness which the work for her sex brought to their author. Before taking it up, she had felt that there was little left for a woman nearly fifty years of age to do, after the establishment of her family! "But these new undertakings detain us in life." They did detain her for more than forty years of happy activity. In her "Reminiscences" she says:

"I sometimes feel as if words could not express the comfort and instruction which have come to me in the later years of my life from two sources. One of these has been the better acquaintance with my own sex; the other, the experience of the power resulting from associated action in behalf of worthy objects. . . . The new domain now made clear to

me was that of true womanhood — woman no longer in her ancillary relation to her opposite, man, but in her direct relation to the divine plan and purpose, as a free agent, fully sharing with man every human right and every human responsibility. This discovery was like the addition of a new continent to the map of the world, or of a new testament to the old ordinances."

Elsewhere she says:

"I had given what I could to the cause, but I had received from it a thousandfold."

The limits of the present volume forbid the inclusion of many speeches and essays which are full of interest, and which elaborate other phases of this wide question. I have endeavored to choose those that show my mother's views from many standpoints and that give a vivid

and glowing image of the faith that was in her.

Although a gradual change had been taking place in her opinions, at the last her conversion, like that of Saint Paul, was sudden. Like his, it was deep and abiding. To quote her own words:

"A gate seemed to open before me, leading to a new and better way.

"The whole glorious gospel of the higher womanhood was revealed to me, sanctioning my dearest aspirations while overthrowing my timid prejudices. From this view I have never gone back. It has given me the inspiration of a reasonable and religious hope, and has confirmed my faith in the divine ordering of the universe."

FLORENCE HOWE HALL.

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Julia Ward Howe and the Woman Suffrage Movement

MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE'S WORK FOR WOMEN

My mother tells us, in her Reminiscences, that she first became interested in the woman suffrage movement when she was nearing the half-century mark. Up to that time, as she says, "I looked to the masculine ideal of character as the only true one. I sought its inspiration, and referred my merits and demerits to its judicial verdict." It is evident in her writings, however, that a "divine discon-

tent" with the position of her sex began to dawn in her mind at least twelve years earlier. In her poem, "Florence Nightingale and Her Praisers" (published in 1856), the following lines occur:

"If you debase the sex to elevate
One of like soul and temper with the rest,
You do but wrong a thousand fervent hearts,
To pay full tribute to one generous breast.

. . . . . .

"She has sprung forward, an enfranchised stream
That runs its errand in the face of day;
And where new blessings mark its course benign,
Men yield approval to th' unwonted way.

"But she had freedom — hearts akin to hers
Are held as springs shut up, as fountains sealed,
The weighty masonry of life must part
Before their hidden virtue be revealed."

Throughout her long life of more than ninety years, Mrs. Howe devoted much time to serious study. In reading the writings of the great philosophers, she pondered deeply on life and its meaning.

Gradually her views changed. "I at length reached the conclusion that woman must be the moral and spiritual equivalent of man. How, otherwise, could she be entrusted with the awful and inevitable responsibilities of maternity?"

While my mother thus reasoned out for herself the equality of the sexes, the events of the day brought home to her, as to others, the injustice of longer denying the franchise to women. The negro was now "admitted to freedom and its safeguard, the ballot." Should the women, who had helped him gain his

liberty, be refused the rights and privileges granted to the black man?

Whatever our views about the bestowal of citizenship on the negroes may be, we must bear in mind the fact that it had a very important influence on the woman suffrage movement immediately after the Civil War. Mrs. Howe and her fellow-workers all acted in the hope and belief that their turn would come next.

A woman who delighted in communing with the great minds of the past as well as of the present, who had studied the works of Kant, Hegel, Spinoza, Plato, Goethe and many others, could not look at this great question in any narrow spirit.

She did not consider the matter of granting the suffrage to her sex as a single isolated subject to be treated and discussed by itself. She felt rather that it

was only one albeit the most important feature of a great movement for the advancement of women and for the uplift of all mankind. In the change in the position of women, she saw the unfolding of a divine purpose and plan. Hence her writings on the subject breathe a deeply religious spirit.

The hope of success which animated her first efforts to obtain the suffrage never deserted her, although at times she realized that victory might not come in her lifetime.

In her address as president of the American Woman Suffrage Association, at the sixth annual meeting, October, 1874, she said:

"We know not whether most of us shall not taste of death before we do see it, passing away on the borders of the promised land, with its fair regions still

unknown to us. And yet we see the end as by faith. By faith we can prophesy of what shall come. The new state, in which for the first time ideal justice shall be crowned and recognized; the new church, in which there shall be neither male nor female, but the new creature that shall represent on either side free and perfect humanity. Like a bride coming down from Heaven, like a resurrection coming out of the earth, it shall appear and abide. And we, whether we shall see it as living souls or as quickening spirits, shall rejoice in it."

In another essay, she expresses her sorrow at the slow advance of the cause at that time.

"Where is the crown of all this progress, the right to be included in the sovereignty of the people? I could weep to think that we have it not, and I must

blush to think that, if we have it not, it is in a great degree our own fault" (*i. e.* because many women are too much occupied with trifles to think of their duty to the state).

But my mother was happy in living long enough to see her hopes realized in four states of the Union and to predict new gains to the suffrage cause. A few months before her death, she was asked whether she thought victory would come soon. "Mrs. Howe's answer was firm. 'I believe I shall live to see women in New York and some of the other states enfranchised, but not in Massachusetts. I'm sorry, but I believe it will take longer here, because Massachusetts women, as a rule, adhere too strongly to old-time conventions.'"

I can imagine my mother's saying this, with a touch of pride in her native state.

She always retained her affection for New York, the city of her birth, despite her residence of more than sixty years in Boston.

Her faith in the ultimate victory of the cause of woman was strengthened by the wonderful changes she had already beheld. It owed its inspiration, however, to the poetic, one might indeed say religious, fervor which at times lifted her out of herself and her surroundings, enabling her to see visions of future truth and good. I do not use the word "vision" in a supernatural sense, but in that of spiritual exaltation. It was in such a mood that she wrote:

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord."

In her "Women in Literature" we find this passage:

"When I turn my face toward the enfranchised women of to-day, I seem to have an apocalyptic vision of a great multitude, praising God for the new and wonderful revelations of his spirit."

The warmth and enthusiasm with which she advocated the advancement of women were characteristic of her ardent and poetic temperament. There are passages, written for the most part in the earlier days of her connection with the movement, filled with indignation at the opponents of the new and nobler order of things. With advancing age came an ever-increasing serenity of soul. Yet she retained to the end of her life the spirit of the Crusader, and was ever ready to defend the cause in which she had such deep faith.

Of the beginnings of her work for suffrage, she has told us in her Reminis-

cences. How she gave her name to the call for a meeting, relying upon Colonel Higginson's assurance that it would be conducted in a very liberal and friendly spirit, without bitterness or extravagance. How she slipped quietly into Horticultural Hall on a wet morning, wearing her rainy-day suit, and hoping that she would not be noticed. This point of view was extremely characteristic of my mother. As her own thoughts were often turned inward, rather than concentrated on visible objects, she naturally felt that things which escaped her attention might fail to attract the interest of others. Thus her imagining that the advent of so important a convert to the cause could escape the eyes of the officers of the meeting in Horticultural Hall, was quite in keeping with her usual line of thought in such matters.

Of course they saw her and sent a message asking her to come to the platform. She did so very reluctantly, her hesitation being due in part, we must think, to that rainy-day costume. While my mother was by no means a devotee of fashion, she liked, as all women do, to be well and suitably dressed.

At this first meeting, she found old friends and new — her pastor, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, among the former, Lucy Stone among the latter. In her writings are a number of tributes to this noble woman.

The arguments of the speakers seemed to my mother simple, strong and convincing. To quote from her own story of the occasion:

"When they requested me to speak, I could only say, 'I am with you.' I have been with them ever since, and have

never seen any reason to go back from the pledge then given. Strangely, as it then seemed to me, the arguments which I had stored up in my mind against the political enfranchisement of women were really so many reasons in its favor. All that I had felt regarding the sacredness and importance of the woman's part in private life now appeared to me equally applicable to the part which she should bear in public life."

The convention of which we have spoken, was held in November, 1868. The New England Woman Suffrage Association was here formed, and Mrs. Howe was elected president (see History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. III, page 267), in spite of the rainy-day dress. This office she still held at the time of her death.

One step naturally led to another.

The New England Woman Suffrage Association issued a call in August, 1869, for the formation of a national body. The names signed to this were Lucy Stone, Caroline M. Severance, Julia Ward Howe, T. W. Higginson and G. H. Vibbert. Representatives from twenty-one states assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, November 24th, 1869, and formed the American Woman Suffrage Association. It was a national organization, differing in some points of policy from the "National Woman Suffrage Association," which had been formed two or three years earlier. In the American Association, the office of president was filled from time to time by a man. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Bishop Gilbert Haven and others served in this capacity.

It may here be said that the New Eng-

land Woman's Club, of which my mother was one of the founders, also admitted men to membership. This was entirely in accordance with her ideas. She was wont to say that the plan of organization of the Friends seemed to her the best, with its meetings of women by themselves and men by themselves, supplemented by a session where both joined together.

Mrs. Howe was identified with the American Association throughout its existence for twenty-one years as a separate body. In 1890, it united formally with the National Association, under the title of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. She was president at one time and held various other offices, beginning with that of foreign corresponding secretary. She also served as president (1870-71) and later as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the

Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association. Extracts from her addresses at the various conventions may be found in the second volume of the History of Woman Suffrage, and in the *Woman's Journal.*

My mother began her work for suffrage and for women's clubs in 1868, and for the Association for the Advancement of Women, a few years later. These were indeed three branches of the feminist movement. For a time, as she tells us, the cause of woman suffrage was predominant among her new interests and activities. In those early days, the number of its adherents was comparatively small, and my mother was called upon for active service. It was now necessary for her to address large audiences and preside over conventions. But like many of her countrywomen, she learned readily to do these things and to do them well.

The advocates of the cause of equal suffrage all acted at the time "under the powerful stimulus of hope." While the movement was decidedly unfashionable, nevertheless it aroused popular interest.

"Ministers opened to us their churches, and the women of their congregations worked together to provide for us places of refreshment and repose. We met the real people face to face and hand to hand. It was a period of awakened thought, of quickened and enlarged sympathy." "Our evening sessions (in country towns) were precious to school teachers and factory hands."

Among my mother's activities in behalf of equal suffrage were her many pilgrimages to the State House in Boston. In Massachusetts, the custom of bringing this subject before the legislature every year has long prevailed. To these legis-

lative hearings she was accustomed to go, despite the most formidable obstacles. The following paragraph from the *Boston Transcript* of Feb. 4th, 1908, bears witness to her dauntless spirit.

"The coldest day of the winter did not deter this woman of world-wide fame (nearing her 89th birthday) from leaving her home to be numbered among those who stand for equal rights for men and women."

She considered it a privilege to take part in these hearings. The memory of them she counted "among her most valued recollections." They extended over a period of forty years or more. Indeed, the last one which she attended took place only a few months before her death.

The excursions to the Capitol often involved vexation of spirit, as well as

fatigue. Among the remonstrants, as the early anti-suffragists were called, there was no woman equal to Mrs. Howe in mental grasp or vigor, and some of the opponents were ignorant persons. The constant repetition of the same time-worn arguments, many of which had been disproved, was certainly trying to a woman of my mother's temperament. Fortunately, these difficulties served only to quicken the operations of her active mind.

"If I were mad enough, I could speak in Hebrew," she once said, jestingly.

She had the lawyer's faculty of seeing and seizing upon the weak point in the statements of her opponents, and was always noted for her power of keen and witty repartee.

At a certain memorable hearing (Feb. 1, 1900), a clergyman, who was not a citi-

zen of Massachusetts, opposed the granting of suffrage to the women of that state. "The fact that most women are indifferent or opposed is a sufficient proof that woman suffrage is wrong," he declared. My mother replied that she would like to ask the Reverend Dr. —— one question. Were the Twelve Apostles wrong in trying to bring about a better social condition when almost the whole community was opposed to them?

Dr. —— was of course unable to answer this query without giving away his whole case, so he took refuge in the "argumentum ad hominem." "I suppose that question was asked for merely rhetorical effect," was his answer.

"Mrs. Howe, whose indignation was at white heat, asked for two minutes to reply.

"'The gentleman has referred to the division of our sex on this question. I must go back to my New Testament; and I do so with an unsophisticated mind, for I have never been taught to regard its precepts as matters of mere rhetoric. In the parable of the Ten Virgins, we are told that five of them were wise and five were foolish. Their numbers were quite evenly balanced, but it does not follow that they were equally in the right. When the bridegroom came, those of them who were ready went in with him to the marriage. The bridegroom for whom we are waiting is Heavenly Justice and Civilized Progress. I hope that those of us who have the proper oil in our lamps will be allowed to go in to the marriage, and that the others will in time obtain that oil and follow us; and I hope Doctor —— will not be the only man left

without a wedding garment!' The audience applauded vigorously."

On other occasions, however, permission was refused her, unjustly as she thought, to ask any questions.

During the last few years of her life, when she was in the neighborhood of ninety years of age, her friends succeeded in persuading her to leave the State House after the suffragists had presented their arguments and before the "anti's" had spoken, since it was found that the reaction following the excitement of listening to the speeches of the opposition, especially when she was not permitted to reply, produced a degree of fatigue dangerous to so old a person.

The statements of the anti-suffragists were often in direct contradiction of my mother's own personal experience. She did not fail to point this out when oppor-

tunity was allowed her, and to chronicle the victories for justice won by those many weary pilgrimages to the State House.

The reader will find certain of these mentioned in "The Change in the Position of Women." Sometimes there is a note of triumph. "Our bill passed the legislature and became a part of the laws of Massachusetts." Elsewhere we are made to feel the length and weariness of the struggles necessary to achieve some small measure of success.

"In Massachusetts the suffragists worked for fifty-five years before they succeeded in getting a law making mothers equal guardians of their minor children with the fathers. . . .

"In Colorado, when the women were enfranchised, the very next legislature passed such a bill."

The extracts already quoted from my mother's writings show how greatly she desired for her own sex broader opportunities for culture and development in order that they might properly fulfil their duties to the state, as well as to themselves and their families. Hence the objects of "The Association for the Advancement of Women" appealed to her very strongly.

The name sounds strange to our ears, at the present day. We must remember that at the time of the establishment of the association (in 1872) there were no women's clubs in existence, with the exception of the New England Woman's Club, the Sorosis of New York, and perhaps one or two others. For women seeking the higher education, few college doors were open. Yet the desire for more knowledge, for wider oppor-

tunities, was beginning to stir the hearts and brains of the daughters of America. We of the twentieth century have become so accustomed to see on all sides organizations of women, such as the patriotic societies and the women's literary and civic clubs, that we do not always realize the power of the movement which gave them birth.

It would seem as if a renascence of learning, and the birth of a new tendency toward organization and co-operation, had sprung up among the women of our country, as well as among their European sisters, since the Civil War. Hence, when Sorosis issued a call for the formation of the association under discussion, it did so in response to a real need.

The character and attainments of the women chosen to fill the posts of responsibility, were such as to ensure a career of

great usefulness to the new society. Mary A. Livermore was the first president, Maria Mitchell, the astronomer, succeeding to the office. Miss Alice Fletcher, friend of the American Indians, made a very efficient secretary, and my mother began her labors in behalf of the association as a member of the committee on topics and papers. Among the other noted women connected with the society, during its long and honorable career, were Mrs. Charlotte M. Wilbour, Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney, Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Mrs. Kate Newell Daggett of Chicago, Miss Abby W. May, Mrs. Henrietta L. T. Wolcott, and in the last years, Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich.

The programmes covered a wide range of subjects. Literature, art and philanthropy were represented in them, as well

as suffrage and allied topics. The annual congresses of the society aroused great interest, and invitations were received to hold them in many parts of the United States, and even in the British dominions. It was in truth a missionary body, bringing the living waters of serious thought and altruistic purpose to a parched and thirsty soil. In its footsteps women's clubs sprang up like flowers.

My mother threw herself into this new work with her accustomed zeal and devotion. During many summers, the arrangement of the programme and correspondence with the members of the association occupied much of her time. For nineteen years she served as president, presiding personally at the sessions of the congress. These usually lasted for three days. When we add that there was often a brief supplementary congress at

a neighboring town, and that my mother and other prominent women were usually invited to preach on the following Sunday, it will be seen that the labors of "A. A. W." were not light. But Mrs. Howe thoroughly enjoyed them. Her great powers of endurance enabled her to stand the severe strain imposed by the numerous meetings, although it must be confessed that she sometimes returned home in a weary condition. If she were "gloriously tired," she would say nothing about it, however, until the fatigue had passed away.

The long journeys in the Pullman car were a real pleasure to her. Here old friends and fellow-workers met together, and discussed the serious subjects in which all were interested. There were merry times over the afternoon teas, brewed from the tea-basket of one of the

members. One lady — I think it was Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney — always brought grapefruit, with which she regaled her companions. To this noble woman my mother became greatly attached. They were friends and fellow-workers for so many years that when Mrs. Cheney died, at an advanced age, Mrs. Howe was as deeply affected as if she had lost a sister.

I have spoken above of her preaching. She enjoyed doing so from time to time, although she had never been regularly ordained. She was much interested in the work of the women ministers and in May, 1873, arranged a convention of them where a bureau of correspondence was formed, for the purpose of giving encouragement and advice to women wishing to enter the ministry.

My mother took an active part in the

woman's club movement and was greatly interested in it. She founded so many of these societies as to earn the title of the "Mother of Clubs." "I have one every year," she jokingly said. When her youngest daughter left school, she established the Saturday Morning Club of Boston, a society devoted to study, in order to give the young girl and her circle of friends, some serious interest.[1]

She was a member of the executive board of the General Federation of Women's Clubs during its early years, and served later as president of the Massachusetts State Federation.

One of her most memorable appearances in public, during her later years, was at Symphony Hall, Boston, where she addressed the General Federation of

[1] It is still a live and active organization and maintains its original character.

Women's Clubs. She was anxious that all in the vast audience should hear her, and for this reason delivered her brief speech standing. Afterwards she confessed to the daughter who accompanied her, that she had feared the effort might kill her, but nevertheless she was determined to make it!

Her connection with the New England Woman's Club has been already mentioned. This pioneer society included many noted women in its membership. While primarily a literary club, it took an active part in starting many reforms, usually through the agency of a committee. In addition to its serious meetings, this club had occasionally "Teas" devoted to pure fun, of which Mrs. Howe contributed a liberal share. She was its president for many years.

Not long after the Franco-Prussian War, my mother undertook a Peace Crusade. "The question forced itself upon me, "Why do not the mothers of mankind interfere in these matters, to prevent the waste of that human life of which they alone know the cost?'"

She devoted two years almost entirely to correspondence with leading women in various countries, having first issued an appeal, translated into several languages. In the spring of 1872 she visited England and held a Woman's Peace Congress in London. While the undertaking did not prosper so well as she had hoped, it had some success and helped pave the way for the modern peace movement.

In connection with this crusade she instituted the festival of "Mothers' Day," for the advocacy of peace doctrines. It

was celebrated on the second of June in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, New Haven, Rome, Constantinople and elsewhere. The observance of this day was continued for a number of years in Boston, and even longer by a Peace Association in Philadelphia. The Mothers' Congresses of our day may owe their origin to this crusade of the seventies.

"My dream was of a mighty and august Congress of Mothers, which should constitute a new point of departure for the regeneration of society by the elimination of the selfish and brutal elements which lead to war and bloodshed."

I have now given in brief outline, the principal features of my mother's work for women. The limitations of the present volume do not allow space

for a full account of her many activities in behalf of her sex. It should be said that these included the granting of many interviews and the writing of endless letters to all sorts and conditions of women, many of whom were entire strangers to her. Her daughters sometimes fretted because so much of her valuable time and strength were spent in this way. My mother herself was wiser in her day and generation than we, and realized the value of the personal relation. She received her reward. The sympathy which she extended to others was returned to her an hundredfold in the beautiful affection of her countrymen and women. This affection and the consciousness that she could still be of use, prolonged her life and contributed greatly to the happiness of her serene old age.

In the last years of my mother's life, the question of extending the franchise to women became a very live one. She was often called upon to uphold, with her ready pen and tongue, the cause in which she so fervently believed. Among the most notable of her articles published at this time, two deserve especial mention. One appeared in the *Outlook* for April, 1909, and the other, a reply to Mrs. Humphry Ward, in the *London Times* of October 1st, 1908. Both have been reprinted as suffrage leaflets.

During the summer of 1908 the *London Times* had published a letter from Mrs. Humphry Ward, on the woman suffrage movement in America. This well-known writer had visited the United States, earlier in the year. Her article was evidently based on the statements of those opposed to giving the

ballot to women. How Mrs. Howe "sprang into the arena in response to the glove flung down by Mrs. Humphry Ward" is graphically described by a writer in the English *Fortnightly Review.*

"Though small and frail-looking, the gallant soul within has kept the body in wonderfully good repair, and though the sword may have worn the scabbard somewhat thin, both are still fit for the fight.

"'Mrs. Humphry Ward is my very good friend,' said Mrs. Ward Howe; 'but,' she added, the light of battle in her eye, 'when I read those statements about the women of America I was obliged to up and grapple with her.'

"How effectually she 'grappled' will be remembered by those who read her reply."

In the essay in the *Outlook,* my mother tells of the growth of her own belief in the cause. The injustice of granting the suffrage to all men, no matter how ignorant and degraded, and refusing to give it to all women, had played an important part in her conversion. The article consists largely of an enumeration of the benefits found to accrue from giving the ballot to women, in those states of our Union and in the countries of the world where this has been done. It closes with the following appeal:

"The weapon of Christian warfare is the ballot, which represents the peaceable assertion of conviction and will. Society everywhere is becoming converted to its use. Adopt it, O you women, with clean hands and a pure heart! Verify the best words written by the apostle — 'In Christ Jesus there is

neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but a new creature,' the harbinger of a new creation!"

FLORENCE HOWE HALL.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN PLATO'S REPUBLIC

In giving us this résumé of Plato's theories of the proper position of women in an ideal republic, with comments of her own, Mrs. Howe has performed a service which will be appreciated by many persons.

In our twentieth century many of the visions of the great philosopher are fulfilling themselves, although they still "like a flaming banner, wave us on to new victories." Certain of Plato's theories we condemn as unsound. They are opposed to the ideas of modern as well as of ancient civilization.

While we cannot accept these particular theories, we feel that they, as well as the more practical ones, were inspired by the loftiest ideals.

In this lecture, Mrs. Howe speaks of the women's voting in Washington Territory

and taking their children to the polls, thus fixing the date of its composition between the years 1884 and 1887. The woman suffrage law of Washington Territory was declared unconstitutional in 1887. The right of franchise was restored to the women of Washington State in 1910.

PLATO'S great work, the "Republic," is dedicated to the study of justice. In order to illustrate the nature and conditions of justice, he has drawn an elaborate picture of a state which should be strictly and entirely governed by its rules.

To me it has been assigned as a special task to speak of the position allotted to women in this ideal society. The attempt to do this, however, has necessitated some study of the work as a whole, for it would be of little profit to take up a single point in so weighty a treatise. Moreover, the supposed position of

women in the "Republic" stands in close connection with the whole idea of what a state should be.

Education, according to Plato (in Book Second), consists first in instilling into the mind of youth notions of the divine which correspond with our highest views of qualities and of character. To this end, the fictions of the poets shall be carefully weighed, and those of them which represent the gods as capable of actions which we should call unworthy in men, shall not be brought to the knowledge of the young. In this connection, mothers and nurses are appealed to. Socrates says: "Let them fashion the mind with these tales," *i. e.* such as are free from this offence, "and not the tender frame with the hand only."

The second point demands the rejection and withholding of all such views of

a life after death as shall cause it to be regarded with fear or abhorrence. The reason given for this is that these views incline men to cowardice, and intensify their clinging to life by inspiring a terror of what may come after it. The ideal citizen is not to consider death as anything terrible, nor to sorrow for his friends as though in dying they had suffered some great misfortune. The man of noble ideas, being sufficient to himself, will not unduly mourn the loss of any friend. Lamentations of this sort, Socrates says, are to be left to women, "and not even to women who are good for anything." Women, indeed, are as it were commissioned to do the mourning of the world, *i. e.* to attend to all of its formal rules concerning the same. They are also supposed or expected to cherish in their heart a deep, silent sor-

row for the loss of friends for which the hurry of practical life leaves men but little time. Plato will have his best women brave like his men. Death shall not appear to them either an irreparable loss or an eternal separation. Excessive laughter is considered by Socrates unbecoming either to gods or to men. It is dangerous, because intemperate mirth naturally leads to intemperate melancholy. "Laughter holding both his sides" was congenial to an Englishman like Milton, but would not have been so to the stateliest of the Greeks.

Akin to courage is temperance, which makes head against the paralyzing power of luxury. The spirit of true poetry will uphold this, refusing to dwell upon the excesses of the banquet as attractive to real heroes. The proper themes of poetry having been insisted upon, its

forms and methods are next treated of as matters important to education.

"Enough of the subjects of poetry. Let us now speak of its style," says Socrates, who proceeds to characterize the difference between narrative and dramatic poetry, and to give his verdict in favor of the former, as having a simpler dignity, free from what he considers the falseness of imitation. Versatile talents and imitative characters are looked upon by him with distrust.

"When any one of these clever multiform gentlemen, who can imitate anything, comes to our state, and proposes to exhibit himself and his poetry, we will fall down and worship him as a sweet and holy and wonderful being; but we must also inform him that there is no place for such as he is in our state — the law will not allow them. And so, when

we have anointed him with myrrh, and set a garland of wool upon his head, we shall send him away to another city. For we mean to employ for our soul's health the rougher and severer poet and story-teller, who will imitate the style of the virtuous only."

From the sense and spirit of poetry, he now passes on to the melody and rhythm which may be considered its form. Here too he admits only a stern and simple music. The harmonies which are expressive of sorrow must be banished from use. Of these he says: "Even to women of virtue and character they are of no use, and much less to men." Of all existing harmonies, he will retain but two, one of them expressive of the resolve of courage, the other, suitable for prayer to God, or for the entertainment of peaceable and instructive propositions.

The flute shall be banished, and the lyre and harp only shall be allowed in the city, while the rustic pipe may suffice for the rural districts.

Plastic and pictorial art also must be purified and regenerated. Vice, intemperance and indecency must be eliminated from sculpture, and meanness from architecture. The guardians of the state shall not grow up amid images of moral deformity, as in some noxious pasture. Artists shall be such as are gifted to discern the true nature of grace and of beauty, so that the youth shall dwell amid fair sights and sounds which, even in childhood, shall draw the soul into harmony with the beauty of reason.

I am afraid that Browning and others of our favorites might have seemed to the philosopher as deserving inclusion in the order of the multiform gentlemen, and

in consequence, exclusion from the perfect state. His severe judgments against the flute will not be deprecated by those musical critics who follow the French saying that there is only one thing worse than one flute, viz.: two flutes. When, however, he decries what he calls "a multiplicity of notes on a panharmonic scale," I feel quite sure that he would not have been a devotee of the god Wagner.

In Plato's ordering of society, the elders are to rule the young people, and of the elders, the best. These rulers are to be the guardians of the state. They are to be chosen for their devotion to the public good. They are to be followed and watched through life, and to be subjected to various probationary ordeals. Next in order to these rulers, come the soldiers, next to the soldiers, the people.

He illustrates the degrees of merit in men by the relative value of metals. Those who have the true talent of command he styles men of gold. Those who are fit to be helpers of these, are men of silver. Husbandmen and craftsmen are called men of brass and of iron. But, says Plato, in an imagined address to these people: "As you are of the same original family, a golden parent will sometimes have a silver son, or a silver parent a golden son." Even the baser elements which he represents by brass and iron may sometimes appear in children of high parentage. In such a case, the father must impartially place his child in the lower rank to which his nature is allied. In another part of the treatise, he again insists upon the importance of allowing the son of high parentage to descend in the social scale, if he show deficiency or unworthi-

ness, and of facilitating the upward way of the lowly born, where these evince high qualities and talents.

The first object of education is the right understanding of justice, which is to be acquired by the study and attainment of courage, temperance and judgment. In this training, athletic exercises play an important part. The art of war is to be thoroughly learned, and still more, that finer art which regulates and conserves the body politic. Having blocked out his curriculum for the men, Socrates says: "It is now the women's turn." The most eminent office accorded to men is that they should be the guardians and watchdogs of the herd. This having been conceded, he says:

"Let us proceed then to give the women a similar training, and see how far that accords with our design."

In the unfolding of this proposition Socrates, like a skilful advocate, anticipates the objections sure to be brought forward by the adversaries of his plan. He begins by asking whether female dogs are employed in hunting and in guarding flocks, or whether the functions of bearing and suckling their young are supposed to exhaust their powers of usefulness. The answer is that they are found useful for the same offices for which dogs of the opposite sex are employed, within the limits of their strength.

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For the same service, he goes on to ask, they must have the same feeding and training? This is conceded. Women must then be taught music, gymnastic, and the art of war. Plato foresees the ridicule which would naturally follow their appearance in the palestra, but re-

minds his hearers of other innovations which at first awakened the same ridicule, but in regard to which, to use his own words: "The ludicrous effect to the outward eye vanished before the approval of reason."

He now anticipates the first serious objection likely to be urged by his adversaries. The principle has already been laid down that people are to work according to their own natures. The natures of men and women differing much the one from the other, it appears inconsistent to say that they shall be held capable of performing the same offices. The argument which follows brings in view the fact that the intellectual capacities of women are as various as those of men, and that physical unlikeness among men does not necessarily imply unlikeness of capacity and pursuit. A bald man is un-

like a man with hair, but both alike can exercise the cobbler's trade. A woman may have the soul of a physician. Being thus endowed, her bodily unlikeness to a male physician will be no hindrance to her exercising the same profession. A man, on the other hand, may not be capable of being a physician at all. He may be fit only to be a carpenter. The woman physician and the man physician will then be more nearly on the same plane than will be the man physician and the man carpenter.

And here my thoughts must review an arena very near to the present time. I remember when propositions like these, unknown or forgotten in the neglect of centuries, were taken up and unfolded before a wondering public, to which they appeared as extraordinary innovations. I hear Garrison and Phillips and Lucy

Stone, asking those very questions, and leading their hearers irresistibly to the same conclusions. When I reflect that to the American public, and perhaps especially to the public of college-bred men, these propositions appeared to embody a novel and dangerous heresy, I must wonder. Those who should have been students of Plato, Bachelors and Masters of Arts, if cognizant of these statements as made by him, have often failed to perceive their deep significance. Those only whose heart's love and inspiration have led them to seek this perfect measure of right, have recognized the fact that justice to all is safety for all.

Another point very familiar in recent discussions is the following. Socrates calls attention to the dexterity exhibited by men in callings supposed to be especially appropriate to women. He men-

tions among these the art of weaving, and the making of sweetmeats and pancakes, in which, he says, womankind does really appear to be great. Men nevertheless are sometimes seen to attain excellence in these things.

What would Socrates have said of Worth and Pangard, the Parisian men dressmakers, who costume the *élégantes* of Europe and America?

"And so," says Socrates, "in the administration of a state neither a woman as a woman nor a man as a man has any special function, but the gifts of nature are equally diffused in both sexes; all the pursuits of men are the pursuits of women also, only" (in his view) "in all of them a woman is a lesser man."

In the catechism which follows, we see something of what women had accomplished in Greece, in spite of the

crushing burden of disabilities laid upon them by custom and prejudice.

Socrates claims for them gifts of healing, of music, of gymnastic and military ability, of philosophy, and what he calls "the temper of a guardian," *i. e.* the judicial mind, based on principles, endowed with insight, characterized by firmness tempered with benevolence.

The claim is not disallowed by the opposing party. The law which is to secure to women the cultivation and the exercise of these several capacities is confessed to be "agreeable to nature, and the contrary practice" (not yet wholly abrogated) "appears a violation of nature." The possibility of this change having been made apparent, its advantage is next insisted upon. These women, spoken of as the wives of the guardians of the state, are to share the duties of their

husbands. The best men are to marry the best women, and the latter, even when forsaking their feminine habiliments in the needs of war, are to be looked upon as " having virtue for their robe, while he who laughs at them knows not what he is laughing at, and needs to be taught the truth that

" The useful is the noble and the hurtful the base."

The interest of this treatise is somewhat lessened by its elaborate and cumbrous dialectic. Thus much Plato does build up by solid logic. Justice is the only safe and permanent foundation for human relations. Justice cannot be maintained unless those most capable of understanding its conditions are entrusted with its administration. This capacity is a moral and intellectual one with which sex

has nothing to do. In the interest of the state, therefore, wise women should be associated with wise men in the administration of public affairs. As a condition of this, they should receive the sort of education which best enables men of capacity to serve the commonwealth.

We must value the uncompromising sincerity with which Plato determines that custom and prejudice, and even the sense of the ridiculous, shall give way before the demands of justice. His faith also in the happy result of right-doing is edifying. Dreadful pictures are sometimes drawn to-day of what the world would be if it were governed by wisdom irrespective of sex. Plato's serene soul soars above these nightmares, and sees, as the result of this equality of administration, a world purified and regenerated.

Plato's ideal state could only be at-

tained by the co-operation of men and women, on equal terms, in its duties and offices. He demands this co-operation in the belief that no society can be truly prosperous or happy which denies any one of the claims of ideal justice.

He calls woman a lesser man, but even from that standpoint demands that she shall be made stronger instead of weaker. He ascribes much of her want of ability, real or supposed, to her imperfect education and slavish position, and to the tyranny of ignorance.

This doctrine of the political equality of men and women is presently harnessed to another, which is quite as abhorrent to modern as it could have been to ancient thought. Socrates, having brought his friends to agree to the first, announces the coming of a much greater wave of difficulty.

"The law," he says, "which is the sequel of this and of all that has preceded is to this effect, that the wives of these guardians are to be common, and their children also common, and no parent is to know his own child, and no child his own parent."

Doctor Channing, in his lecture on the Present Age (May 11th, 1841), says: "Christianity has given new sacredness to home, new tenderness to love, new force to the ties of husband and wife, parent and child." Shall we think that our Plato, whose reasonings sometimes anticipate the very phraseology of the New Testament, could have held, on the momentous subject of marriage and family life, a creed so opposed to its teachings? How shall we have patience, for a single moment, with one who seeks apparently to annihilate the family rela-

tion, and to reduce parentage to a purely political feature of society?

This destruction of family life would also destroy the significance of sex. The relation of men and women to each other, rendered entirely subservient to the objects of the state, would be despoiled of all individual affinity and preference. So, while material results are to be ensured, all that consecrates these in the religion of personal life would be obliterated. No lover, no beloved, no husband, no wife, no mother, no father, no child. The state would be father, mother, brother, sister, child.

Plato's doctrine with regard to parentage must be considered in the light of his character. He is a fearless and uncompromising soldier of conscience, who feels to the utmost the wrong-doings of society. His sense of these is to be meas-

ured by the sacrifice he is willing to make to put an end to them. Sweet even to a philosopher, even to a Greek, must have been the memory of his mother's arms, of his mother's knee. Plato is tender of mothers, and remarks that the heavy burden of maternity ought to be made as easy as possible to them. He sees, however, the self-seeking which grows out of the family relation. Under its influence, men and women will not only endeavor to monopolize advantages for themselves, but for their children also, and the covetousness which has been a curse to one generation, hands itself down to another and another and another. In order to get rid of this crying evil, Plato is willing to sacrifice the intense joys and comforts of the parental relation. There shall be no more fatherhood, no more motherhood, the babe at birth becoming the

property of the state. Those who might have been father and mother shall regard as their own all who, in virtue of their age and other circumstances, might possibly have been their children. This abstract affection for childhood in general, regarding any child and caring for it as if you were assured of its descent from yourself, is certainly a most noble and desirable conception, not to be fulfilled, however, by the destruction of the personal affections and instincts. A simpler logic brings us in view of this result, a process of reasoning made up of real interest and ideal aspiration. Interest shows us that good citizens are at once the only safeguard of the state, and its greatest wealth. In order to keep society solvent, every man and woman who composes it should have value enough to pay for his or her keeping. This value

they cannot have without education. So the state now regards all children as its own, provides for their education and enforces it. This is the palpable ground of interest. The ideal motive in education is the belief, amounting to certainty, that the higher examples, the nobler sentiments, will strongly commend themselves to the human heart, when the intellect has become sufficiently trained to conceive of them. Thus, one hero will make many men heroic, and a single martyr will, in spiritual parentage, beget a church, nay, a whole order of churches.

We must allow the philosopher room for the breadth of speculative thought. Let him follow his hypothesis to the verge of the impossible. He knows the limitations of practical life as well as or better than we do. There is much, even in this treatise, which is in direct opposi-

tion to this outing of his fancy. In the saying which I have already quoted about the silver son of the golden father, and vice versa, we see the idea of definite descent held fast to. It is the slavish aspect of sex against which Plato would make war, as inconsistent with true progress. Women and children are not to be considered as belonging to men, but men, women and children all belong to the state, and are all to share its duties, the women as co-workers with the men, the children as learners.

Plato's doctrine of the family and of property as well must be considered as abstract statements of the absolute duty of the citizen to the state. To this duty, he would have us sacrifice every personal affection and interest.

We can look back from this to Abraham's time, and behold the sacrificial

knife held at the throat of his son, and narrowly averted. We can look forward to the elder Brutus, who passes sentence of death upon his own son. And we can also meditate upon the sense in which Christ says that his doctrine shall set the heart of the mother against her daughter, of the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law. I find in Plato and in Christ the same idea, that we must follow the impelling power of conscience to its utmost end, regardless of consequences. No matter who or what stands in our way, we must go forward. Fortunately or providentially, when we have made our stand, some compensating power, unthought of before, shows itself in the order of things, and the temporary discord resolves itself in progressive harmony.

From the cruelty of the masculine

world Plato does not deliver us. He would not only prevent feebleness and deformity in the race, but he would destroy all those infants who at their birth promise to develop disease or malformation. Here, he makes an important omission. The robust and healthy infant may be born with the elements of a moral deformity more dangerous to society than any bodily failure or infirmity. Who shall assure us that this splendid boy-baby shall not grow up to be an atrocious enemy of his kind, that this girl-child shall not loose the flames which destroy a city, and desolate a continent? Moral deformity is more fatal to society than physical monstrosity and it is impossible to foresee its manifestations. On the other hand, physical weakness and deformity are sometimes accompanied by great excellence of mind and of heart.

Therefore, while the state cannot rightly neglect the person of any, it must bring up all of its children in the same hope and the same respect.

And here we see something that the world has gained since Plato's time, viz.: the sense of the sacredness of the individual as well as of the state. The dignity of humanity resides equally in both. The state is the aggregate of individual souls, the guardian of individual rights. While each should be willing to sacrifice himself for the good of all, the all or whole cannot make light of the person of any, since each and all stands to it in the same vital relation.

Into the great views of education unfolded in Books Seventh and Eighth of the "Republic," the limits of my subject hardly allow me to enter. Yet will I call to mind one or two points which have a

certain connection with it. Plato has elsewhere affirmed the early years of life to be the most important for training. In Book Seventh, while insisting that the studies which he calls "preparation for dialectic," shall be presented to the mind in childhood, he at the same time forbids teaching them by compulsion, holding that a freeman must have freedom in his studies. He says: "Let early education be a sort of amusement; that will better enable you to find out the natural bent."

The introduction of the pleasurable in early education is a feature of this age. Kindergartners should seize upon this passage as pointing to the achievements of Froebel. I mention it because I am seeking the points in which Plato's prophecies are already fulfilling themselves in the world's experience.

Dialectic, says our philosopher, should

not be studied too early: "For young men, as you may have observed, when they first get the taste in their mouths, argue for amusement; and are always contradicting and refuting others; they are like puppy dogs, who delight to pull and tear at all who come near them." I remember once being myself moved to say that I pitied a congregation when a very young minister came to cut his teeth upon it. This remark, I assure you, was the result of pure observation. I had not then tackled the "Republic."

Having built up the man by study, gymnastic and probation, to the age of fifty years, he who still survives and has distinguished himself in action and acquirement shall come to his consummation. This consummation is described as a beholding of the universal light, the absolute good, according to which the life

of the state and that of the individual should be ordered.

At one point in the dialogue Glaucon says: "You are a statuary, Socrates, and have made our governors perfect in beauty."

Socrates replies: "Yes, and our governesses also, for you must not suppose that what I have been saying applies to men only, and not to women as far as their natures can go."

The good of the state, according to Socrates, must be a controlling motive. The guardians of the state are not to have a happiness which will make them anything but guardians. The husbandmen are not to be bidden that they till the ground no more than they like. Nor are the artificers to repose on couches and feast by the fireside, working as much as they like, and no more. For in this state,

a high condition of general advantage is to be the aim kept constantly in view, and not the rapturous gratification of any individual or class; and the growing up of the state into this noble order is to be made to take precedence, in the minds of men, of the personal and selfish desires. In this order, all persons are to receive the proportion of happiness only which nature assigns them.

Does the experience of history show us that Plato was right or wrong in espousing the cause of ideal justice, and in making her requisitions the only foundation for a safe and happy state?

How has it been in our own country, in our own time? What enormous powers, what subtle combinations have sought to exclude justice from human affairs! Look at the immense combination of forces which supported slavery in

this country! Look at the knot which, forty years ago, bound Italy hand and foot. Look at France under the two Napoleons. With great pangs and convulsions, these strongholds of the old order have passed away. Look at England to-day, scared with the nightmare of her own tyrannies. One man, old but valorous, stands for the ideal right, stands and will not yield an inch.[1]

One feature which must strike us in Plato's "Republic" is that its provisions are such as to make the whole term of human life one continual education. The only graduation from this high school is into the company of the gods. In this mode of living, the higher training and discipline go ever forward. Sobriety and measure are present everywhere, and the reserve power which

[1] The reference here is presumably to Gladstone.

these ensure enables every man to go from strength to strength, and to build always a better upon yesterday's well. The high satisfaction of always using one's best powers in the best way gradually excludes the desire of all irrational gratifications. There is no place for luxury in a world so filled with content and well-being. Those who live to merit the approval of enlightened conscience cannot care to astonish the vulgar. Having real merits, they cannot stoop to assume fictitious ones. The pomps and splendors, therefore, with which tyrants, governmental and social, love to surround themselves, are here absolutely without significance, and would seem to our republicans fit only for madmen.

Something of this prophecy is fulfilled to-day. Life in a republic is a never-ending education, for those who are edu-

cable. We have seen, are every day seeing, its beneficent effects, which lift races degraded by ages of ignorance and servitude, by giving to them offices which task, not only their muscular, but also their moral and intellectual strength.

The exclusion of corrupting influences, by which Plato assures the permanence and safety of his state, would be possible only under a spiritual despotism which would sap the energies of society by anticipating and restraining the will power of individuals. The preventive power of education constantly increases, but the great ideals of character commend themselves but slowly to the mass of mankind, and the vulgar, dishonest rich man still appears a hero to a sordid multitude whose elimination from our society seems distant, and to some, hopeless. In Plato's "Republic," these rob-

bers who gather enormous fortunes by fraud and subtlety would be regarded with a contempt which would inevitably lower them in their own self-esteem. Cast out from the fellowship of all good citizens, their place would be with barbarians whom their money could bribe or their splendors overawe.

The ideal state exists to-day in certain individuals, and perhaps in certain associations. And it is quite true that in its esteem those rich men who are of low character weigh but little. These men are forced to have recourse to the old barbarism, still enthroned and cultivated in Europe. Their money will buy for them, in foreign lands, an artificial rank which no doubt more than compensates to them the absence of that public respect which they have never dreamed of deserving. We sometimes mourn the expendi-

ture made of their money in other countries. Perhaps it is better for us that they take their plunder and their extravagance elsewhere.

Another fulfilment of prophecy may be seen within the borders of our country. In Plato's order, the women and children are everywhere the companions of the men. In the camp and on the battlefield, the little ones are to learn courage from the example of brave warriors, and strategy from the contemplation of military manœuvres.

When I hear that the mothers of Wyoming and of Washington Territory take their young children with them to the polls, I see a partial realization of Plato's vision. The ballot is our weapon, the election is our peaceable contest, in which it is just and proper that the mother shall be armed like the father,

and that the child shall learn from both what his own office is to be in the defence of his country, and how he should exercise it.

Socrates, pushed for a statement regarding the possibility of the existence of this ideal city, falls back upon the assertion that an ideal does not necessarily embody itself in tangible form. It remains, a truth of supreme significance, but no one can safely predicate when, if ever, the actions and perceptions of men will be conformable to it. If we can make any approximation to it, we are fortunate. Read in this sense, there is almost the meaning of "never" in the following prognostic:

"Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one,

and those commoner natures who follow either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never cease from ill, no, nor the human race."

Is it like the witches' prophecy: "When Birnam Wood shall come to Dunsinane"? Such prophecies do fulfil themselves, foretelling of evil to the evil, of good also to the good. At the bottom of Plato's prophecy, is the faith thus expressed:

"In heaven, there is laid up the pattern of such a city, and he who desires may behold this, and beholding, govern himself accordingly. But whether there really is or ever will be such an one is of no importance to him, for he will act according to the laws of that city and no other."

I will confess that, nibbling round the edges of this great treatise, I feel like

a small mouse dealing with a mighty cheese. I find in its pages some thoughts which have become the property of the civilized world. I find sentiments which will only seem possible to the saints of disinterested humanity and patriotism. I find problems which distract society to-day as much as or more than ever. I find also points which are settled, scarcely to be brought again into general doubt and question.

I find in this treatise high sayings which, I fear, would be more familiar to our fathers than to our children. I find prophecies which have been realized, and which still, like a flaming banner, wave us on to new victories, to new achievements. I find promises only partially fulfilled, and foremost and most sacred among them, I hold this promise, that the women of the state, equally with its men,

shall be trained to high offices of public guardianship.

The progress of the ages brings to light one after another of these ideal objects which, at first seen abstractly and intangibly by some strangely inspired thinker, became adopted into the programme of the living and working world.

The equal opportunity for women is already demanded and in great measure accorded. In this, equality of education necessarily precedes equality of function. Duty, in its noblest interpretation, is the right of men and women alike. The pattern of the city laid up in heaven is becoming the plan of our social and civic architecture, and those who give the rule in morals and in intellect are followed for the assurance given that they will act according to the laws of that city and no other.

The form in which Plato entertains these beautiful visions is rather that of a problem. The world of men ought to be harmonious and happy, by reason of the unity of social interest, considered in the abstract. Its dissensions, treasons, covetings, self-seekings, come of a want of instruction concerning this unity, this fundamental harmony which underlies the diversities of men. This diversity, this manifoldness of gifts, impulses, wants and passions, is most precious to the race. Out of it comes the ego, the individual. Apart from it, we have only the crowd, the mass. An intelligent traveller, lately returned from Korea, tells me that in the language of that country there is no word answering to that personal pronoun. Self-effacement goes with self-abasement. The great problem is, how to retain both the unity and the variety, and how to

reconcile and harmonize these opposites. Plato gives some great guesses at the solution, but these guesses are all dependent upon some unknown quantity which he is obliged to leave undeclared. For the ages of life and energy supply the wonderful machinery by which the question is worked out. The ages, and in them, the great dispensations of the spiritual order. A coherence of which Plato scarcely dreamed makes itself felt to-day between the various sorts and conditions of men.

"All mankind are friends and brothers," says Schiller.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident:" say the founders of the commonwealth, "that all men are born free and equal, and are entitled to certain inalienable rights." These utterances have become the word of command to the

nations, and the problem, too mighty for any one man to declare, solves itself in the experience and inspiration of the human race.

WHY ARE WOMEN THE NATURAL GUARDIANS OF SOCIAL MORALS?

This address was given at one of the annual congresses of the Association for the Advancement of Women, about the year 1896. It was doubtless read elsewhere also, as there are apparently two terminations. Both are so full of interest that they are printed here.

THIS is a question which enters deeply into both the history and the psychology of our race. The point from which it starts will scarcely be disputed by any one. The roughest, most vicious and most careless men expect from women, as a sex, a certain vigilance of attitude regarding ethical matters. Even while

assuming women to be their inferiors in value and ability, they have almost with one consent asserted their moral superiority by the very institutions whose laxity toward men is counterbalanced by their severer bearing upon the opposite sex.

We may say, indeed, in the first instance, that "the wish is father to the thought." The rude man desires inferiors. Without such, how can he assert and maintain his own superiority? Yes, but man desires superiors also. The woman who captivates him with her feminine charm, who soothes his wild passion with the response of her gentler nature, becomes in so far his superior. As the mother of his children, she commands his tender respect. From this vantage-ground of motherhood, she becomes idealized into the priestess, the goddess.

In woman, weakness and power strangely change places. What more feeble couple can we imagine than the mother with her new-born babe? Yet man felt, before he knew, the majesty of this maternal office, and even in his dark days of violence and bloodshed, paid it the tribute of his worship. The Virgin and Child whose image has so long ruled the Latin division of the Christian Church does but continue the woman-worship which is a feature of the oldest religions.

I should be reluctant, in considering this question, to start with the supposition that woman is, on the whole, the moral superior of man. This assumption, if granted, would settle the whole matter at once. Men and women are made of the same clay, and in the same image. Both are created and endowed for noble

desert. What we must rather consider in the present connection is the true source of the moral superiority of position conceded to women. This appears to me to derive distinctly from the office of motherhood, and from reverence for its church, which is the home.

The idealizations of feminine character which we find in the early history of nations offers additional evidence of the recognition of the high offices of motherhood. The most ancient cults known to us record faith in some goddess, the prototype or reflected image of some woman who is believed to have lived on earth and to have had some influence in human affairs. The orthodox Jews indeed worshipped one who is spoken of by their writers as *He*. Yet the unexplained Elohim of the most ancient scriptures may be supposed to have included,

even if very dimly, the idea of a female deity, and the idol worship which went along with the orthodox faith of the Old Testament always included a feminine element. Kuenen tells us that the idols which were common in Palestine represented the goddess Astora, and Jeremiah reproves the women of Jerusalem for making cakes to offer to the Queen of Heaven. In the solemn Egyptian worship, the goddess Isis is seen to represent the ideals of conjugal and maternal sentiment, while in the livelier mythology of Greece, the offices of the female deities were many and various.

It is strange to descend from these heights to a question which has been common in the present day. When any noticeable mischief appears in society, some wiseacre will ask: "What woman is at the bottom of this?" Even this

ironical question shows an appreciation of the power of women, but of a power misapplied, and worse than wasted.

But I have it most at heart to-day to suggest to women that the high duties which devolve upon them demand from them a life of corresponding nobleness. It does not become the woman of to-day to think lightly of her ignorance, folly and frivolity. In past times, these traits have amused many men, redeemed as they no doubt have been in part by personal grace and delicate intuition, and by the force and weight of feminine passion. Yet in all times the women possessed of strength of character have enjoyed that steadfast respect which is a higher boon than transient admiration, sure to pass with the passing of personal beauty, or with the change of masculine caprice. You may remember that Shakespeare's

Richard, when asked what wrong he can charge upon his hapless queen, replies:

> "The greatest,
> To have outlived my liking."

Among the Greeks, the great goddess Minerva, Pallas Athenæ, dictated to the Fates and Furies.

The wise woman of to-day sits on a throne far above the eminence of the ball-room queen, or stage prima-donna. Her keen eye detects the faulty lines in the social architecture, and its master-builders give heed to her criticism.

Amid all the idolatries of fashion and worldliness, she upholds the true standards of good sense and good taste. Her attainments invite, instead of repelling, the multitude of her own sex. They find in her, not a tyrant, but a helper. Where she leads, all may follow, for the ways of

improvement are open to all. In the church, the market, the forum, she has now a recognized place and an honored office.

Ah, sisters! let us leave our pribbles and prabbles, and address ourselves with sweet seriousness to the work of our generation: education, consolidation, inspiration.

To my mind, a part of Paul's prophecy regarding the influence of Christianity is now fulfilling itself in the system of Froebel, and in its application to the general education of the race. Paul says that it, the Christian doctrine, will bring the small things of the world to confound the great, and will even give to things that are not, the victory over things that are.

Now, childhood was long held to be one of the small things of the world, and in rude ages, parents had power of life

and death over their offspring, exposing them even without blame to death by the violence of the elements, or the destruction of wild beasts. But to-day surely in England and America these small things are becoming the very centre of society's effort and interest. The things that as yet are not, the unborn future discloses itself to us in such familiarity and nearness that we are obliged to take its needs into consideration. The neglected child, wandering about the streets to learn the lessons of meanness and of crime, is seen to be the evil genius of the future, for whose deeds of destruction and mischief the present generation will be in a large degree responsible. At the sight of him, oh! women, let your woman's heart be touched. Let your blessed motherhood put itself at interest, multiply itself so as to embrace him, the

homeless, the friendless. Give your aid to those who would train and reclaim him, raising up a friend and true servant of society in the place of a malignant foe to all that humanity holds dear. The great importance of the early years of life is seen at the present day, as it never before has been. The influences of the first ten years will outlast the whole three score that should follow. These years, nature and society agree in confiding to the nurture of our sex. In past ages, this mother-office has been recognized as the laws of nature are at first recognized, with instinctive and unintelligent acquiescence. In the improved psychology of the present day, these laws are coming to be venerated as being full of divine significance, and their demands will be ever more and more wisely and truly interpreted.

Having said so much, it will not be amiss for us to inquire, how do women in general fulfil the duties of the high office to which they are called? We must answer, only measurably well. Much in nature fits them for it, but much also may tend to lead their thoughts far and wide from the sphere of their most sacred obligations.

The love of approbation which so often degenerates into a love of admiration induces many, no doubt, to seek and value a notoriety which is undesirable, and an homage which really confers no honor. The idolatry of self may render most unwelcome the pains and sacrifices of maternity. The desire to forestall the opposition and cultivate the good-will of the other sex is a prevailing force in the lives of many women. We sometimes mark sadly how they will lower the flag

of their righteous indignation in order to excuse the immorality of a son or the fault of a lover.[1] I suppose that few people are more averse than I am to the assumption of a strained and stilted attitude on the part of women. I love the feminine graces and honor the feminine virtues. The desire to please is natural to us women, and when kept within normal limits, it really belongs to our office in society, for it is a part of our business to make the world happier, and to bring with us everywhere the elements of harmony and of beauty. I suppose that vain and even wicked women are apt to follow this natural leading, only, if they follow it without the loadstar of conscience, it will bring them either into shallow waters, or upon the rocks of cruel

[1] There are *two* parallel continuations of this essay from this point.

shipwreck. In view of these dangers, the mother should instruct the daughter never to condescend to please upon a low level, nor to minister to an unworthy instinct. To keep up the tone of society is a part of every true woman's duty — to see to it that the objects of ambition shall not be those whose pursuit implies deterioration of character, that work shall be wisely undertaken — and worthily done — that amusements shall not be such as dissipate and degrade.

All of these objects are dear to humanity. They are largely within the scope of our sex's activity. Let us hope and pray that the sin of neglecting them may not, in the future, be justly laid at our door. If the guardianship of women is important in the domain of social art and intercourse, not less important is it in that of political life. I suppose, dear friends,

that some of us have been asking for admission into this scene of action so long that it sometimes seems to us as if asking for the suffrage were like crying for the moon, or trying to hurry up the millennium. But let me say that, whether we wait a year or a thousand years for it, to ask for it is a part of the duty which our sex owes to humanity. Religion, purity, peace, temperance, are as much in place at the polls as at the altar or the fireside. We bear these sacred words engraven on our hearts, emblazoned on our banner. Let us not fear to bear it in glad procession before the great assemblies in which the destinies of the nation are decided. Where should we be at home if not where the fate of present and future generations is decided, the fate of our children and of their children?

I have been glad latterly to know of a

woman's league for sound money. I have not been able to know much about its work, but it surely is a step in the right direction. Let us add to it a woman's league for sound morals, in politics and out of them, a platform with no pitfalls, a faith with no prejudice, a fair and even and just basis of social and national life, worthy to survive the wreck of parties and the downfall of systems. Amid all illusions, the steadfast truth, amid all losses, the eternal gain and glory of our race.

If I venture to ask why the great multitude of women are at so little pains to improve the gifts and opportunities which belong to them by the nature of things, it is in order to make the briefest suggestion in reply. Women study the

becoming in dress, the agreeable in intercourse, the suitable in the household. As a general thing, they do not study the needs of society, nor the part which they should have in its purification and regeneration. They forget that these processes are ever necessary. Generation always calls for regeneration. The natural birth makes necessary the spiritual birth, and the function of woman is as important in the second of these as in the first.

In the present day, I know not what power has touched the hearts of women all the world over. Prophetic voices have long cried in the wilderness, and in the dreary tangles of fashion and worldliness, witnesses for the truth have stood forth, trying to disengage the real from the illusory, the pure gold from the dross. Wiser than our thoughts and deeper than

our efforts, the unfolding of Divine Providence has touched a spring before which the defences of ignorance and error are slowly giving way, like mighty gates revolving on brazen hinges. The vision of a better society opens before us. It is one in which women will have learned to be faithful to their trust.

The Association which has the honor at this time of enjoying your kind hospitality may claim to have had much at heart the serious matter which I have now endeavored to bring before you. When we joined hands, nearly a quarter of a century ago, it was in the intent to seek out central groups of women in various regions of our own wide country, to exchange with them the results of our thought and experience, and thus to endeavor to promote on either side an intelligent furthering of the best interests

of society, in the mode and direction most natural and proper to our sex.

Our endeavor was started from the most prominent of our cities, but, as soon as its scope became known, help came to us from sources many and various. No state nor region confined our efforts. We found ourselves at home wherever a number of thoughtful women could be found who were willing to take from personal pleasures and pursuits the time necessary for the consideration of more extended interests, the progress of civilization and its lapses, the needs of humanity, and the responsibilities of intelligence. Wherever we have gone, north, south, east or west, kind voices have welcomed us, and the right hand of sisterly fellowship has been extended to us. In some cases, those even who had felt averse to our coming, thought better of us when they saw us,

and sped us on our homeward way with thanks and good words.

Death indeed has not spared our little band. Maria Mitchell, illustrious in science, Abby W. May, revered in all philanthropies, Kate Newell Daggett, and others of whom time would fail me to speak, have left their place among us unfilled, and their memory unfading. On the other hand, we have now gathered for ourselves a great family connection, throughout our country, and even beyond it. The large associations of women, which now attract so much attention in the United States, would hardly have existed to-day, were it not for the experience we have attained, and which it has been our privilege to pass on.

So, dear friends, in receiving us, you have received the spirits of some who are with us no longer, save as the essence

that survives "the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds." And we earnestly hope that in entertaining us, you will have entertained not only the past with the present, but also something of the best promise of the future.

THE MORAL INITIATIVE AS BELONGING TO WOMEN

A foot-note in my mother's hand says: "Written, I think, for the second Council of Women." A reporter's endorsement seems to fix the date of the delivery of the speech as May 16th, 1893.

The argument is perfectly simple, although the address contains some philosophical illustrations. The moral initiative belongs to woman, because, in her quality of mother, she has the earliest influence upon the child and gives him his first lessons. It is therefore of great importance that the woman herself should be rightly educated, and not taught that it is her first duty to please man. This is a frivolous doctrine, and belongs to the earlier days of civilization. In order to preserve her moral initiative (which comes from God and not from man) she must have

an enlightened mind and must avoid ignorance, "the first condition of enslavement." The ripe experience of the writer (at the age of seventy-four) has changed her views of her sex as a whole. She sees that in all women lie the germs of those noble traits she has admired in the few. If we can reach the true woman, we shall draw out something of these glorious possibilities.

THIS title indicates a topic which has come to me in hours of thought and of study, attracting me both by its philosophical and its practical aspect. The present century has seen great progress in these two departments. The old philosophies have been taken up, sometimes in a reverent, often in a sceptical spirit, and the critical procedure has acknowledged no barriers beyond which it is forbidden to pass. Rules of life, on the other hand, have also been sharply re-

viewed and amended. The salient points of morals have been distinctly sought out and emphasized, and the two great orders of thought, philosophy and ethics, have been brought into new relations of nearness and dearness. Religious teaching has passed from the observation of rites, and the inculcation of metaphysical views and doctrines to the illustration of the intrinsic essence of Christianity, and the subtleties of mysticism, ritualism and what not have been forgotten in the sympathetic uprising of the heart of the multitude. When ten thousand people waited in the Square around Trinity Church in Boston, for the last glimpse of Phillips Brooks' coffin, when they joined in the Lord's Prayer, and in the hymn, led by trumpets, which constituted all the outdoor service on that memorable occasion, those who were present saw the

triumph of cordial over formal Christianity, saw, and thanked God for what they saw.

Something of this process of integration appears to me to have gone on with regard to the powers and offices of women, during the last twenty-five years. I can remember when it was not deemed improper to plead in excuse for foolish and even wicked conduct: "She is only a woman." Only a woman — only half the human race, and the mother of all mankind. This reminds me of a bigoted European Catholic whom I once met in travelling, who, learning that we have no established state church in America, inquired: "Well, what provision have you then for religion?" I replied: "We have the doctrine and example of Jesus Christ." "Nothing but that?" he answered with contempt.

Well, we do not often hear this phrase to-day: "only a woman," and gradually we have been led to discard the fragmentary and imperfect views of our sex which their enemies have taught us. For low-minded men are always the enemies of women, and always desire to see them in a position of subserviency and of dependence. High-minded men, on the other hand, have tried to give us high ideas of what women ought to be and ought to stand for in social economy, and some of them have had much to do with the present awakening and rehabilitation. For high ideals of womanhood the literary world has not wanted. The Greek tragedians, and their great philosopher Plato, the writers whose treasures are gathered in our Bible, the poets of the Renaissance, noticeably Shakespeare, Milton and Dante, have shown us, with

other types, the woman of noble stature and august character. But the common world of men about us have not appeared to take much stock in these. A feebler and more frivolous type has been more congenial to them, and while expecting and exacting from us a stricter morality than that required of their own sex, they have been at no small pains to obstruct in us the sources of moral inspiration, and to make us feel that to please them is our highest duty and our greatest honor. The times of this ignorance we may say with St. Peter that God winked at. In the old mythology, Mars and Venus went together, the fighting man with the woman whose beauty is her chief endowment. But Mars is going out of high fashion. The soldier is no longer the supreme example of heroism but simply a necessary evil. The thoughtful, life-pre-

serving virtues are in the ascendant to-day. Character attracts, character rules, and we have learned at last that it cannot rule unless men and women have it equally, unless in both its aspirations may rise to their own height, and seek out their own development.

Now, what do I mean by this moral initiative as belonging to women? Is it a mere phrase that sounds metaphysical and means nothing? My thought of it is simply this: the world has had much good to say of its women, and much evil, and both with reason. The first woman has been credited with all the woes which have befallen humanity, and with all the sins into which it has fallen. Buddhism considers the principle of evil in nature as resident in the female sex, and ascetics in all kinds have held the same view. The legends of the Mother of Christ

have no doubt exercised a potent influence in elevating the moral position of the sex. Yet in romance and stage play to-day as well as in ordinary society pleasantry, the question is common: where is the woman who is at the bottom of the mischief?

I think that wise people now ask an opposite question. When we meet with a man who is without fear and without reproach, whose blameless life seems to have gone on from strength to strength, upbuilding the community, and honoring humanity by his own noble image and conduct, we are apt to ask where the woman is? And our thoughts go back to the helpless cradle in which his infancy was tended, even further, to the heart to which his own was the nearest thing on earth, to the breast from which he was fed with the essence of a pure life.

Happy is the man whose mother has been a tower of strength to herself and her family! The first precious lessons it has been hers to give. No matter what storms may have raged without, how mean the market or how wild the street, he has first seen the light in an atmosphere of celestial purity. The mother-love has watched at the gates of his childish Eden with a drawn sword. No evil counsel or influence has been allowed to come near him. And when in the necessary course of things he has passed out of her keeping, he goes accompanied by the Christ-prayer: "I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil."

This I call the moral initiative. The man's start in life, the nucleus of all that he is to believe, to aim at, and to do has

been delivered to him like a sealed packet full of precious things by a mother who honors supremely all that honors humanity, who dreads and despises all that dishonors and deforms it.

No one will deny that this type of woman is most precious. The question will rather be how we may maintain and multiply it. And here the whole horizon of the past confronts us, as well as the veiled heaven of the future.

In this past we read that all that is slavish in human institutions is demoralizing, that while discipline forms and exalts, despotism degrades and deforms, appealing back to the lower instincts which have their place in animal life: fear, cunning, low self-love, and the low attachments of mere habit and interest. From the tyrannies of the old order into the liberty wherewith Christ has made us

free, the world is slowly passing, but all that detains humanity on its lower levels retards the progress of the race. Oh! that men, themselves enfranchised, should wish to detain their women in the bondage from which they themselves have been delivered. In true Christianity there is no moral distinction of sex, neither male nor female. But in the political life even of free America, the man opens the door for himself and shuts it against his wife, opens the door for his son, and shuts it upon his daughter. And this, I say, is demoralizing. It compels one half of the human race to look back toward the old barbarism, while the other insists upon looking forward to the new civilization. The man to whom the woman's freedom of soul is the first condition of his own, puts on that freedom a fatal barrier and defrauds himself

thereby. His mother should be his superior, his wife should be his equal and companion. He invites them to acquiesce in a lower position, to exercise a self-control which he does not dream of exacting from himself, but also to sacrifice the self-respect out of which should spring this very power of self-control, of self-sacrifice, of subordinating the pleasurable to the ethical, the caprice of self-indulgence to the steady purposes of duty.

I do not say that any of these thoughts are new, but I do say that as life goes on and the world with it, they do present themselves to me with new power and completeness. In reviewing my days, I recall the noble women whom I have known, deep-hearted and wise-thoughted. I have revered them as individuals, as stars in a dark sky, as striking exceptions

to the poor average of feminine attainment, intellectual and moral. But I see them now as partial revelations of a glorious whole. The germ of all that I have admired in any woman surely resides in every woman, and if you can reach the true woman in her you will call forth something of it. The world of men and of women are alike cheated by the frivolity in which most of us are bred and educated. We are taught to be content with taking the whole tone of our life from the careless pleasure of thoughtless men. Now I say, let there be an uprising among us. Let thoughtless men take, on the contrary, their altitude from our nobleness of mind. Let them recognize in us not only a moral sentiment which they must respect but a moral determination to which they must conform. Oh! women, let your sons see in you only

what shall raise you in their esteem. And while you inspire them with tender respect, and train them to all that is generous and truth-loving, remember that you have a double duty to your daughters. They are to be the companions and inspirers of men. Oh! see that the source of moral power in them be not corrupted by cowardice nor impeded by senseless tradition. Let man that is born of a woman be also trained by a woman to the attainment of his fullest manhood, corresponding to her fullest and freest womanhood. God has joined the sexes together in the highest spiritual as in the simplest natural need. What He has joined together let not man put asunder. The woman has slowly conquered the right to education, both as learner and as teacher. Let the mother instruct the daughter to keep, above all else, the in-

expugnable fortress of her own strength, faith and purity. Let her find and follow the terrible right whose victories, adjourned but certain, are written all over the world. With deep reverence for father, brother, husband, let her yet revere and obey one authority deeper and far beyond theirs, the dictates of an enlightened and ever-studious conscience. Let her keep her own moral initiative. It is from God, and not from man.

If I may define further, I will say that for me this moral initiative resides in the choice of motive. The same outward act may be prompted by very different considerations. People may serve each other from policy, or from careless good nature, or from a sentiment of real goodwill and human respect. All of us probably accept attentions offered with these various intentions. Don't you think that

we find out the real difference of people's springs of action very soon? The man who seeks you when your star appears in the ascendant, and forsakes you when some other luminary appears more prominently — the ambitious climber who passes over your shoulders or tries to do so in order to gain a more ambitious position — the easy, indolent friend who to-day will not take the trouble to refuse you and to-morrow will not take the trouble to oblige you — we know the difference between these and the real friend.

People oppose each other from different motives too. Malignant jealousy and envy often provoke misunderstandings, which indeed are only misconducts on the one hand, and a sadder and wiser understanding on the other. The love of intrigue sometimes prompts those to mischief, who might better employ their

subtlety of mind. We all respect the man or woman who opposes us for conscience' sake, in the interest of some good thought or thing to which he considers our action inimical. Antagonism of this sort does not necessarily involve any ill feeling, and true-hearted opponents often do each other noble justice.

I believe in the political enfranchisement of women because I see in it the key to all that is rightly expected of them in the world's economy. I believe in it because I believe in logic, not so much in the short-sighted syllogisms which we teach, as in the great logic which life teaches us, in which effects follow causes, and moral principles confirm themselves in moral results.

May we not suspect that a latent sense of the superiority of service underlies the master's expectation that his slave or

servant shall surpass him in patience and benevolence?

I find something of this element in the feeling of men toward women. "You are our subordinates, bound to serve and obey, and you should therefore have certain inestimable qualities which we do not feel obliged to possess. You *should* be better than we." And this brings me back to that fragmentary view of great things of which I have already spoken. Men have had these glimpses of what is right and proper. They have guessed well at the truth here and there. Women should exercise some virtues which for men are less obviously requisite, such as patience and endurance in forms peculiar to their life and constitution, and above all, affections which it is hard to wear out and faith which never flinches from its loyalty.

But the progress of the great order re-

veals truth in its wholeness. These broken views of good and of merit are but parts of a great whole whose outline is now becoming visible to us. In the political world these great unifications are matters of familiar history. Macedon and Rome each produced a certain sense of unity from the chaos of differing tribes and nationalities. But Christianity brings us this unity in the moral world, and shows us that there is one right and one wrong for all. What a human being would not himself endure, he can have no right to inflict upon others. Of what he finds supremely precious, he has no right to deprive any one. Acting upon the opposite theory, he prepares for himself or his successors ruin and bankruptcy. He wastes the moral capital of the race, which is his only safeguard. There are no slavish virtues. Despotism breeds only vices which

in the end are sure to work its overthrow.

The pleasant statement of a government as an autocracy tempered by assassination has a deep truth underlying it. Autocracy is the legitimate source of all that brings to pass assassination.

The reform of theories. Why do we dread it as we do? In chemistry, biology, geology, we dare not think of avoiding it. What cruel sweeping away of supposed elements and influences has resulted from the discoveries of modern science? Does any one consider the world worse off for these changes? Surely not in this Columbian Year when all the extension of modern appliances is needed to bring the peoples of the earth face to face, and to institute, once for all, a High Court of the Nations. These wonderful enlargements and unifications would not have

been possible without the power of investigation and of enlargement, which men follow step by step until it opens for them the wider and brighter horizon which we see to-day. Why then should we be afraid of remodelling our theories of human relation, of moral obligation and political economy?

May we not learn, even from those dark assertions of the evil influence of women, learn something of the way behind and before us? The dwarfed and degraded woman has without doubt often dwarfed and degraded the men who had to do with her. In some of the ancient societies, the relations of sex have been so hopelessly tangled with the predominance of physical force and passion as to present to the eye of the saint or philosopher much that is best avoided. I find the remedy for these evils in the moral

power of the woman herself, if she can be taught and trained to exert it. Let her call no man master, but seek to exercise that mastery of self which is the first condition of all the virtues.

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

In our own time we have seen a temporary reaction against these sacred maxims, and a wild vindication of the supremacy of instinct. Sad tales of debauch and crime tell us to how low a pass men and women, acting as creatures devoid of conscience, can bring each other. Let us learn from these sex-tragedies their true lesson. The secondary morality will no longer answer for women. They need no man to interpret to them those sugges-

tions of reserve and modesty with which nature seeks to protect them from the lawlessness of force. Only let them listen to these. Only let them add to these good promptings the salutary lessons of history and the uplifting influences of religion, and in place of the amiable weaknesses once in vogue, we shall find estimable strength and profitable wisdom.

Lastly, we have certainly learned that women must be free if freedom is to be enjoyed by men, and safeguarded for them. Ignorance is the first condition of enslavement, and ignorant women will always be the tools of the men who are the enemies of freedom. To all that society expects from women, let us then add the enlightened mind, the liberal and resolute will. This will secure to them the moral initiative.

THE CHANGE IN THE POSITION OF WOMEN

This essay was written about the year 1900. It describes, among other things, some features of my mother's own work and experience.

THE change in the position of women which this country has witnessed, appears to those who take note of it little less than miraculous. This change has been brought about in great part by women themselves, leaders of the sex within the sex; women who have keenly felt the disabilities imposed upon them by law and custom, and who have valorously striven to win for themselves and their fellows the outlook of a larger liberty,

and the inspiration of a loftier interpretation of womanly duty.

While, however, we recognize the part which leading women have had in the enfranchisement of their sex, we cannot ignore the fact that other and very powerful agencies have been at work in the same direction.

Noble men who have been the champions of freedom for their own sex have had the discernment to perceive that the requirements of justice apply equally to the opposite sex. If men are entitled to the free use of their faculties, why have not women the same right? This question has been answered in the affirmative by John Stuart Mill in England, and by Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and many another brave soldier of freedom on this side of the Atlantic.

Moreover, the drift and impulse of the

century has been in this direction. The enthusiasm of emancipation has been so great as to outgo all limits of caste, fortune, race and sex. The summons, "Come up higher," has sounded for all alike, and each, in his or her degree, and according to his or her natural capacity, has been forced to answer the call with some endeavor.

I was a girl in my teens when Frances Wright came to this country to speak in public in behalf of "Women's Rights." The theme, very new and unpopular at that time, was not more odious to the general public than the agency which brought it forward. "A woman speak in public? How improper! How wholly unfeminine!" A few years later, this voice was multiplied. Here and there rose up women who dared to claim the public attention on the platform, and

who succeeded in winning it. Ernestine L. Rose, Lucretia Mott, Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony and Anna Dickinson became known as able and eloquent speakers. Abby Kelly Foster, the Grimké sisters and Lucy Stone woke the old echoes of New England to a new and brave music. Not without difficulty, not without perseverance was the field of popular oratory won by the sex. No one has established herself more solidly in this field than Mary A. Livermore, who, a medal scholar of a Boston public school, sought admittance to Harvard College more than forty years ago, and was warned off, as an innovator of a dangerous type. More fortunate, Lucy Stone put her pennies together, and obtained a deck passage to Cincinnati, and a place among the pupils of Oberlin College. Even here prejudice would not al-

low her to read her own thesis at her graduation, and sturdy in her determination to speak for herself, she refused to allow it to be read at all.

I dwell upon the triumphs of women in this field partly because they were in the direction of true democracy. Shut in by unequal laws and unjust prejudices, the women whom I have mentioned and others whom I have not time to mention, made their appeal to the great heart of the people. And that great heart was stirred to its depths. The justice of the new pleading was felt, and in consequence, the new era was allowed to inaugurate itself.

Early in the fifties, Theodore Parker spoke to me of a letter written him by two young girls in northern New England. One of them asked permission to study theology with him, the other de-

sired to study law with Wendell Phillips. Parker was fully up to date regarding the woman question, but looked upon these proposals as quite wild and impracticable. George William Curtis, pleading in the same decade, for the higher education for women, speaks of "that little needle" of the sempstress as standing between a multitude of women and the alternatives of starvation or degradation. In the early part of this nineteenth century, the bread-winning resources of women of the middle or higher class were limited to needlework, teaching, or taking boarders. The remuneration commanded by these and kindred services was meagre and uncertain, and offered for the greater number little more than the keeping of body and soul together.

At the period of which I speak, even

women of fortune possessed nothing individually after their marriage. The ring which promised to endow them with all the bridegroom's earthly goods, really endowed him with all that belonged to them, even to the clothes that they wore.

Their children were not their own. The father could dispose of them as he might see fit. Under these circumstances, an unborn child might be and often was willed away from its mother, who thus could only look forward to the pangs of maternity, not to the dear companionship which is their sacred and natural reward.

Much of this barbaric legislation is now wiped out, and that in great part by the efforts of the advocates of woman suffrage. In most of the states, married women now retain their property rights,

and those of them who earn money have an undisputed claim to its use. The legal relation of mothers to their children is much improved, though not yet everywhere what it should be. I have again and again been one of a deputation charged with laying before a State Legislature the injustice of the law which forbids a husband to make a business contract with his wife, and of that which denies to a married woman the right to be appointed guardian of her children. We reasoned also against what in legal language is termed " the widow's quarantine," the ordinance which forbids a widow to remain in her husband's house more than forty days without paying rent, the widower in such case possessing an unlimited right to abide under the roof of his deceased wife. Finally, we dared to ask that night-walkers of the male sex

should be made liable to the same penalties as are incurred by women for the same offence. Our bill passed the Legislature, and became a part of the laws of Massachusetts.

Few achievements in our century appear more wonderful in retrospect than that of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe in writing "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The matter of her story was not new. The abuses of power which she chronicles were familiar to many in the North as well as the South. The touch of genius so illuminated and combined the materials of this simple narrative, that the heart of the nation rose up to protest against the outrageous wrong of slavery. This was the master-key which unlocked the inner citadel of conscience, and set in motion the armies of deliverance. For herself she achieved high fame. Crowds

of admirers hung upon her steps in England. Peer and Commoner vied in doing her homage. Her work was translated into various languages. An Italian friend wrote to me to inquire about the lady who wrote "La Capana dello Zio Tom." But by far her greatest recompense must have been in the knowledge that she had spoken one of the God-appointed words with such power and acceptance that it remained graven upon the heart of the century, to abide as a part of its proudest record.

The proposal to render women eligible for service on the School Board was met at first with derision, and with serious disapproval. The late Abby W. May had much to do with the early consideration of this measure, and the work which finally resulted in its adoption had its first beginning in the parlors of the New

England Woman's Club, where special meetings were held in its behalf. The extension of the school suffrage to women followed, after much work on the part of men and of women. Col. T. W. Higginson, Lucy Stone and Mrs. Livermore all united in pressing this important matter upon the notice of the public. A number of states have conceded so much of the franchise to their women.

Mrs. Frances E. Butler led a forlorn hope to attack an infamous social ordinance and prevailed, simply through the energy and persistence with which she appealed to the public sense of justice and of decency. Florence Nightingale, in her very girlhood, conceived the plan of an educated ministering to the sick and wounded. Resolved to make this the leading study of her life, the war of the Crimea found her prepared to bring into

the field an army of trained nurses, and to make her name a glory for her country and for the world. The horrors of the war were greatly mitigated by her labors and those of her assistants, and her example encouraged our own brave women when their turn came to follow in the wake of their soldiers with ready aid and comfort.

Some thirty or more years ago, two women's clubs were started almost simultaneously, in Boston and New York. This novel departure was regarded with much suspicion and fear of evil consequences, but the women who took part in it so made good their cause that kindred associations gradually sprang up and multiplied. And now a general federation of women's clubs extends over this whole country, and binds together its wide-apart regions in a fellowship fruit-

ful of good will and good works. In the autumn of the year 1870, the fatal folly of the Franco-Prussian War moved me to indite and publish a document calling upon women all the world over to unite their efforts to promote the settlement of international difficulties by the peaceful method of arbitration. My dominant thought was that women, as the mothers of men, alone knew the cost of human life, and that this fact gave them a sacred and indisputable right to become the guardians of the world's peace. I followed this appeal with some years of earnest correspondence, culminating in a visit to England, in which I embraced every opportunity of pleading for the united efforts of women to the end already mentioned. My dream was of a mighty and august Congress of Mothers, which should constitute a new point of

departure for the regeneration of society by the elimination of the selfish and brutal elements which lead to war and bloodshed. The time for this was not yet, and the harvest of my labors was a scanty one. But —

> "God moves in a mysterious way
> His wonders to perform."

Three decades after my Peace Crusade, an International Convention of Women is called and held in the very London where I lifted up my single voice, praying for one. And I believe that this event, in whose proceedings I have had no part, will greatly tend to bind together the women of civilized countries, and that it is an important step in the world's progress towards a great harmony of human interests.

Let us, in conclusion, take a brief survey of the field of woman's activity, as it now exists. The three learned professions are now open to her, and few of our important cities will be found to be without women physicians, trained nurses and women lawyers. The woman-ministry exists more largely in the West than at the Eastward, but wherever found, it is recognized as a power for good. Colleges for women are handsomely erected and endowed, while many colleges of high repute have opened their doors to them. The scientific training of children is largely in their hands, as are many branches of higher education. The claim of educated women to a place on the school boards of the several states is widely established. The suffrage, municipal, legislative and presidential, is secured to them in Kansas, Utah, Wyom-

ing and Colorado.[1] It is true that in the labor which has achieved these good results, women have had the aid of devoted champions of their cause in the other sex. Yet, without much effort and perseverance on their own part, such assistance would not have sufficed to bring about the present state of things.

"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

And the blow in this instance, be it remembered, is against the barbarism and superstition which are as hurtful to men as to women, and in overthrowing which, the fathers and mothers of society can fitly join hands.

[1] In 1900, women possessed municipal suffrage in Kansas, and full suffrage in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho.

DUTY OF WOMEN

(Endorsed in Mrs. Howe's hand, "Summer of 1901")

This essay was apparently written when my mother was in her eighty-third year. Rejoicing in the higher education of her sex and in the gains of woman suffrage, she declares it to be the duty of women to go forward in the path of progress, but also to retain all that was good in the past. Woman is now, as always, the home-maker. Where she possesses a trained intelligence, she will be able to meet more successfully than could the old-fashioned housekeeper, the evils which beset her household.

As learning brings refinement, it will enable her to make her home happier. The well-educated house-mistress will interest herself in the good and evil about her — in

the prevention of vice, the teaching of religion, etc. She will seek to exercise the franchise, because the cause of woman suffrage is just and must prevail. The essay closes with an adjuration to young women to "Revere the religion of home."

IT is not easy in this day of the world to state with accuracy the proper position of one sex with regard to the other. Still less can one attempt to define "the whole duty of women" with any hope of success.

Of one thing, however, we may speak with certainty. The barrier in the way of women must be placed behind them, not before. They must not be permitted nor encouraged to relapse into the attitude imposed upon them by society in its barbaric stages, in which the physically weaker went to the wall, in which undesired offspring were exposed to the beasts

of the forest, while the mother was looked upon as one created solely for the pleasure and convenience of her master.

In the freest countries to-day may still be found some or many who deplore the enlargement which civilization brings to the male sex. The comfortable aspect of despotism to the despot appears to such persons the very ideal of human relation. Upon the other side of the picture, the discomfort of despotism to those whom it oppresses, they do not care to look.

The progress which makes freedom the ideal condition of men to-day has at last appealed to the hearts of women. For woman too the fiat has gone forth. She too must stand erect. She too must work as one free-born. All the sermons and diatribes in the world will fail to remand her to her old position of enforced ignorance and inefficiency.

Doctor Holmes, in one of his writings, has marked a distinction between *muliebrity* and *femineity,* between the woman who is led by brute instinct and the woman refined by education and culture. In this appreciation, the good Doctor spoke from the standpoint of taste. People in the rough, whether men or women, were not for his company.

I demur at the word "femineity," because many will understand by it what are called "the amiable weaknesses" of our sex. Womanhood is a better word, for this expresses the true value of the sex, and the dignity which properly belongs to it.

Neither manhood nor womanhood will thrive beneath the rule of tyranny, but under a just and equal dispensation we may look to see both attain dimensions undreamed of in darker ages. Our sex

has not enjoyed fifty years of college education for nothing. It has achieved an entrance into the domain of academic erudition. The mysteries of science have been unfolded to it. The professions welcome its aid — the avenues to independence and self-support are open to it. From this ground of vantage there is no backward way. Forward the race is bound to go, and women to-day must march beside men, with a resolute mind and a firm tread. Society demands this of them, individuals cannot gainsay it. Under what we may term the new dispensation, however, there is less room than heretofore for irresponsible action. This might have been expected in the days in which the will of the few coerced that of the many. Now that room is afforded for each one to find his proper place, he is bound to find and to fill it.

On women no less than on men does this obligation rest. They must fulfil it under no other coercion than that of conscience and their best intelligence.

The barrier which forbids a return to the slavish ways of the past is not intended to shut us off from its invaluable lessons or from its sacred prescriptions.

Christianity could not go back to the observances of Judaism, yet all that was precious in the record and doctrine of the old religion was cherished to fuller unfolding in the bosom of the new revelation. Of the divine law manifest from the beginning, Christ says that "one jot or one tittle of it shall not be lost until all be fulfilled."

Even so, in regard to the relations of man and woman, the past is not to be gone back to, but its truths are not to be gone back from.

From the beginning, then, woman is the mother of the race, the guardian of its helpless infancy, its earliest teacher, its most zealous champion. Woman is also the home-maker. Upon her devolve the details which bless and beautify family life. In all true civilization, she wins man out of his natural savagery to share with her the love of offspring, the enjoyment of true and loyal companionship.

Now that science has thrown so clear a light upon the processes of life and its conditions, the position of the home-maker involves much that may well exercise the powers of judgment. The dangers which are now known to beset air, water and food, call for a knowledge competent to deal with them. The principles of chemistry and biology have much to do with the proper regulation of the house-

hold. The study of sociology will explain to the house-mistress the nature of the good and evil influences which accompany civilization. She will necessarily interest herself in the prevention of vice, in the reform of criminals, in the teaching of true religion, and in the promulgation and efficiency of just laws.

The time was, and not long since, in which women could only contemplate these important matters through the medium of the masculine intellect. To-day, they are seen to lie within the domain of their legitimate study and service.

Elizabeth Fry opened the way for the ministration of women to those in prison. Dorothea Dix won deserved honor as the champion of the insane. Florence Nightingale took it upon her to reform the profession of nursing by administering the hospitals of a tedious and deadly

war. Frances Power Cobbe, writing of the duties of women, demands as a condition of their fulfilment, the right to the full exercise of political functions. These brave souls were beacon lights, leading the energies of their sex in many new and happy directions.

In close relation with the interests of home stand those of society. Here, woman has already an honored place. Her sympathetic nature enables her to bring harmony out of the harsh discords which prevail among men. It lies within her province to reconcile apparent contradictions, and to uphold everywhere the standard of just and liberal judgment. I do not pretend that she always exercises this blessed influence, but I believe that she will do so increasingly in the near future.

Of all the good doctrine which the

Apostle Paul has left us, no part interests me more than his chapter on the diversity of human talents. He enjoins it upon us indeed to covet the best gifts, but means by this, I suppose, that we should use the abilities which we possess in the best spirit, and to the best ends.

Fourier's doctrine is also to be commended. He insists that every human being, no matter how dull or how vicious, is endowed with some quality which would be useful to society, if the individual possessing it could be so trained as to employ it in a commendable manner.

The diversity of talents is presumably as marked among women as among men. The arts and philosophies demand special natural facilities in those who would excel in them. But taste, diligence and judgment are qualities which

can be cultivated, and patient skill can be acquired where no spark of genius is discernible.

The results of the higher education among women are already shown in the variety of pursuits followed by those who receive it. Of those who are graduates of colleges, the greater number are employed as teachers, but business and the professions claim a fair proportion of them. The opportunities now afforded for general instruction extend even to women who might be supposed to be bent beneath the weight of material cares. The Society for the Promotion of Studies at Home has upon its list of correspondents, farmers' wives living in remote parts of the country, but delighting to occupy themselves with mathematical problems. I once encountered, in the Far West, a little group of women employed in small

crafts, who were too poor to meet oftener than once in so many weeks, but who took great pleasure in discussing Taine's work on English literature. The blessed Chautauqua dispenses its treasures of information far and wide. In the programmes of the women's clubs throughout the country, art criticism and political economy are prominent among the topics presented for discussion. The radiance which this new light must bring into many households may be allowed to counterbalance some falling off in the matter of gingerbread and doughnuts. But, as learning brings refinement with it, I cannot doubt that the homes of these well-instructed women will be the happier and healthier for the trained intelligence of their mistresses.

We have women in the pulpit, at the bar, in the counting-house, in the medical

colleges. We have women of established position in art, literature, business and science — women walking beside their brothers with even tread; for both, one scale of study, one gospel of duty, why not one law? Where in nature or in experience do we find the fatal point of inferiority which should condemn the mother to rank as the inferior of the son, the sister of the brother, the wife of the husband?

Nowhere, I answer, save in the imagination of that portion of the human race which walks in the darkness of barbarous times, with eyes bandaged against the light of the present day.

In any comprehensive statement of the public and private duties of women, some mention of suffrage cannot be omitted. I am well aware that this mention will be likely to awaken opposition

in the minds of some who might otherwise agree with much that has here been said. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that suffrage for women is fully established in several of our states, and is partially conceded in others. Neither should we forget that the foremost leaders in the mental and moral advance of our time have upheld the claim of women to the ballot for many years, in the face of much blind and passionate opposition. * * * These persons have shown themselves wise beyond their time in the consideration of its social and political questions. Shall we suppose that their wits failed them when they came to speak of what especially concerns women?

Here again let me invoke the aid of the barrier which should close the way of retrogression instead of barring the way

of progress. Four of our western states have granted full and equal suffrage to their women.[1] One more has conceded to them municipal suffrage. In half our number of states, women exercise school suffrage. But we may safely affirm that there is no state in our whole domain, in which the cause of woman suffrage has been without an advocate. It has been bequeathed from generation to generation, with slow but valuable gains. I believe that it should prevail and that it will, and I hold that this faith in the hearts of the valiant few has been the key which has opened the way to the present enlargement.

The last thing to be feared, in my opinion, is that women will ever incline to forsake the time-honored institution

[1] The number of these states has now (1913) increased to ten.

of matrimony either for reputation or for personal gain. The companionship of men and women has too deep a sanction in nature to lose anything of its value in the light of the larger education. True, the college graduate may be less inclined than some others to be "mated with a clown." She will be apt, nevertheless, to find a mate, and usually a fitting one.

Having said thus much, I must add that it does not appear to me wise in the education of girls to emphasize too strongly the view that they shall all become wives and mothers. So long as wars prevail, it will be inevitable that in militant communities a certain proportion of women must remain unmarried. The risks even of some of the pursuits adopted by men tend to render their tenure of life more uncertain than that of women.

True education should aim at building up the traits which are sure to be wanted in every civilized community, viz.: character, consideration for others, respect for oneself. It becomes us to cultivate all that makes the individual valuable to society. Then, whether marriage occurs or not, women will be sure to bear a dignified part in the life of the community to which they belong.

What debts of gratitude does not the world owe to its unmarried women? These are often among the noblest of their sex — women whose dream of romance has been rudely shattered by some calamity, or by some flagrant unworthiness discovered in the object of their affection — women who cherish some high and hopeless attachment which they refuse to sacrifice to a meaner idol.

How essential was the celibacy of Queen Elizabeth to the independence of England! She had favorites, and many suitors, but her mind held to her early decision, and she died, unmarried and illustrious.

The list of unmarried women who have achieved a noble fame is a long one, and includes merit of many kinds. Few of us have been so unfortunate as not to have enjoyed the acquaintance of some woman who has remained unmated in this life, but whose charm and excellence of character have been an inspiration and uplift to all who have had to do with her.

The Church of Rome long ago recognized the use and service of unmarried women by the foundation of its religious sisterhoods. We of to-day do not assume that single women have no part to play

in society. We hold, on the contrary, that all its resources of enjoyment and instruction should be open to them.

Wordsworth has said that "the boy is father to the man," thus referring back the fate of manhood to the training received in childhood. Even so is the girl mother to the woman, and all that will be desirable in her later life must be well borne in mind in the training of her early years. If we would have the woman home-loving, we must see to it that her home is a happy one. If we would have her loving, sympathetic and tender of heart, we must rear her in an atmosphere of love and tenderness.

A last word of mine may give some unity to this fragmentary essay. I address it to the young women who will

occupy the stage of society when people of my generation will have altogether passed from it. To these I will say, "Revere the religion of home. Keep its altar flame bright in your heart. The college, the platform, the press, the pulpit are now open to you. Achieve in these directions what you may, but return from your furthest flight to the dear shelter of your home. Make the place beautiful with your affection. Treasure its legends and its memories. Hang your laurels, if you win any, upon its walls. And, while you cherish these blessed relations, do not forget your wider neighborhood, your part in the interests of the great human family. It is your relation to this which gives to your home life its greatest importance. The vestals of ancient Rome were at once guardians of the hearth and custodians of the archives of

the Roman State. So, in every time, the home conserves the sacred flame of life, and the destiny of nations rests with those who keep it.

WHAT THE NINETEENTH CENTURY HAS DONE FOR WOMAN

(Written in the winter of 1898-9)

WHAT the nineteenth century has done for woman? Words almost fail us to tell, so wonderful is the enlargement which recent years have brought her.

We hold the discoverer of a new continent to deserve immortal praise and remembrance from the human race. What, then, shall we say of the leaders of the progress which has opened to that race a new world? To man, a world of ideal justice, leading to true brotherhood and happy companionship. To woman, the sublimities of the past in education, the activities of the present in freedom, and

these conceded in no slavish spirit, either as wage or gift, but as her true and rightful inheritance.

To my mind, the greatest boon given to women under the new dispensation, is not the intellectual enlargement which it brings them, albeit this is very great and most precious. A greater benefit I find in woman's advance from a passive condition to one of original action and energy, in her multiplied opportunities and occasions of service, in all that brings her within the pale of true citizenship.

Individual women in the past have from time to time played a leading part in the world's affairs. Their example was then but a cause of fret and discouragement to the incapacity of their weaker sisters. To-day, these eminent examples serve to lead the whole sex forward to a higher level, a nobler attainment.

One very important feature in the state of things now prevailing, is the greater facility of self-support afforded to women by the freer exercise of their individual talents. The miseries of dependence have indeed weighed heavily upon our sex. To marry for a home, or, whether married or not, to submit to disrespect and ill-treatment under the bare necessity of having a roof to sleep under and a bed to sleep upon; or, failing even of these resources, to pine and perish of downright want; these sad alternatives no longer present themselves to women of average ability.

Even more sad than these may we consider the waste of talent and power consequent upon limitation and poverty of object. To have one's little sphere marked out by the inclinations of men and the dictum of society, the terrible "Thus far

and no further " set up in every direction, how demoralizing was such bondage! How inimical to lofty aspiration and noble thought! Religion gave a partial release from this narrowness, but religion itself, always interpreted by the masculine mind, with the personal bias of the masculine judgment, and with more or less of the ferocity incidental to the masculine temper, failed of its office to comfort and uplift. The law extended to the women of civilized countries a certain measure of protection, but its complexities developed meshes which often entangled the feet of those who were of necessity ignorant of its technical subtleties.

The beginning of this century saw woman everywhere the recognized inferior of man. In politics, she had no existence. In law, she was always a minor.

In religion, she was denounced as the original source of sin and death. In society, her chief assigned task was to attract and please individuals of the opposite sex. Failing in this, she was held of small account. It is quite true that neither state nor church could take from woman the dignity of motherhood, the office of the home-maker. Thirty or more years ago, I heard Theodore Parker exclaim, in one of his sermons: "Mysterious woman! Feeder of men, mother of babies!" Yes, these indeed she was, and for these services she was loved and honored, sometimes almost worshipped. But this respect which she inspired almost always had reference to others. It regarded what she was to them, rarely, what she was in herself.

. . . . . .

The present century has from its beginning been remarkable for a forward stride in the individuality of women. From age to age, indeed, rare stars of feminine genius have risen upon the social horizon. In this age, illumination was promised from the start. Harriet Martineau, George Sand, George Eliot, Elizabeth Fry, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, in Europe, and in our own land, Miss Sedgwick, Margaret Fuller, Lydia Maria Child, the Grimké sisters, and the whole company of the suffragists, have taken a high place in the world's responsibility, and have kept it. The result has been a quickening and growth along the whole line of human relations. With the higher interpretation of individual right and character has come a worthier view of marriage, of parentage, of culture and of social intercourse. Men and women

find each other out in finer and broader sympathies than of old. The family is more a unit than ever, but it is a unit composed of two equal parts which, like the equal sides of an arch, stand ready to receive and uphold the sacred keystone of duty.

Lastly, in this hurried review, let me revert to the fancied relation between architecture and music,[1] which seems to imply a deep sympathy holding in leash all of the world's great harmonies.

To the upbuilding of this new state which I have endeavored to characterize, the sweet cadence of the Christian movement supplies the needed music. "One God, one faith, one baptism," is a device which the Church of Rome arrogates to itself, but which belongs of right to the Church Universal. Paul, the inspired in-

[1] Bettina Arnim wrote: "Architecture is frozen music."

terpreter of the religion of Jesus, sounds throughout the ages the noble refrain which asserts that under the new dispensation there is "neither Greek nor Barbarian, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but a new creature," *i. e.* a new creation.

Foolish Helen and more foolish Paris overthrew the royal city of Troy with the discord of their wild passion. The Christian man and woman to-day stand side by side to build the walls of God's eternal city, that shall have no end.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN WOMEN

SINCE I find that the learned James Martineau admits as evidence the "vaticinations" of the intellect and of the conscience, I feel encouraged to assume a more substantial basis for the prophecy which I have been invited to contribute to these columns. Having in a previous paper briefly outlined something of what I anticipate for our country in years to come, it remains for me to say something of what the women of America have before them.

To be, to do, and to suffer, are the three clauses in which the sum of human experience is generally acknowledged to be

comprised. In my youth, a clever contemporary stated her view of it thus: "The children are — the men do — the women suffer." This résumé is more epigrammatic than true, since all living creatures share the three functions of existence. All are, all do something and suffer something. But my friend's *mot* had some justification in the attitude of passive and patient receptivity which, at that time, was generally imposed upon women and accepted by them. Her saying was perhaps an evidence that a different order of things was at hand, the order which is beginning to break up the old ruts of the worn and beaten road, and to build new pathways for the better attainment of the ends of human existence. Already the women are something quite different from what they were. With the new opportunities opened to them, their

moral and intellectual powers have become greatly enlarged. They not only may, but must do many things which they were until lately expected to leave undone. With these new forces at their command, the character and extent of the things they may suffer are much changed and abridged. They may not endure either as individuals or as a sex some evils from which escape was once difficult for them, if not impossible. They must bear the common burthens of humanity. They need not rest under any stigma of personal or of political inferiority. The cruel barriers of force and prejudice are overthrown — "The world is all before them where to choose." They have only to will that the world shall be Christianly educated and humanly governed, and it will be.

The nucleus of the better education al-

ready exists among us, and its influence is becoming appreciably felt. The highest conquest of which a woman can dream is no longer that of her opposites in sex. She can aim at what they can aim at, the crown of scholarship, the badge of service, the distinction of character. And the fruits of this new tree of knowledge are already sweet in many a home, in many a charity, charities of deeper wisdom than those of old, and of higher hope. These college graduates, who exchange the academic cap and gown for the bridal wreath and veil — do they walk less gracefully to the altar for the intellectual wealth which they carry? Oh! that the house of humanity should ever have been so divided against itself as that knowledge and nature-wisdom should have been looked upon as enemies to each other! This ancient strife, which has

been since the world began, is now to be reconciled once for all in the persons of the women. Righteousness and truth have met together, mercy and peace will kiss each other, and from this fulfilment of blessed prophecy there will be no going back.

From the cradle itself methinks I hear a sweeter, happier music than of old. Science is its guardian now. The way for all healthful influences is kept open to it, the deleterious forces, the old dangerous superstitions, are kept away. And with the careful training of the kindergarten, how nobly does human life begin! The little one takes possession of his intellectual estate to the rhythm of song and dance. Considerate wisdom softly turns her torch first on one, then on another of his gifts and faculties. A house of God shall this human temple indeed become,

with no dark corners in it, no cruel under depths of ignorant misery.

See, too, these college settlements — hear their story from some eloquent member of their confraternity. The highest are to help the lowliest. Refinement gives its hand to rudeness, and the subtler touch overcomes, and now, having seen better things, no one will be rude, if he can help it.

And see, too, in far heathen lands, how the women are making their better learning available. They bring to the zenana health and healing, with the new and wonderful knowledge of what women can do to help each other.

So much is sure, that the new order regarding the status of woman in the Commonwealth not only cometh, but already is. And, though the developments of every day surprise us, a little study will

show us that they are really the gradual outgrowth of what always was and was to be. We must remember that the natural world is full of changes so wonderful that to the savage they appear miraculous. The metamorphoses of the seasons, the course of stars and planets, and in minute life, the hatching of the bird from the egg, the resurrection of the worm in the butterfly — all of these should prepare us to expect and understand metamorphoses in the moral world. The woman of to-day who stands armed and equipped with courage and with culture, who will resist wrong with more than military power, who applies herself with steady nerves and a clear head to the solution of the world's problems — this woman is the result of much that has gone before, of much too that is unlike herself. The change, however, is not against na-

ture, but in accordance with laws of spiritual growth and progress which indeed were unknown to past generations, but which will presently become manifest and familiar. Many a woman has, like Mary, hidden in her heart the secret of hopes which seemed too great for life to realize. In the long course of the ages, these seeds of noble desire, ripening from time to time, have come to fill the whole field with a rich harvest. Women, now is your time. Remember, the crescent which crowns Diana, images also the golden sickle of the reaper. In the institutions which are coming, your wheat will be bound with the precious sheaves that nourish the multitudes, and the chaff of the traditions which have enslaved you will be burned with unquenchable fire.

SPEECH AT A SUFFRAGE HEARING BEFORE THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

(Date uncertain)

In this speech my mother turned the tables on the "Remonstrants" in an unexpected way. After rehearsing their oft-repeated argument against doubling the ignorant vote, she suddenly appealed to the members of the Legislature. How had they themselves been elected? Had vice and ignorance controlled the electorate, or had the men of the community voted out of their best knowledge? If men were capable of choosing efficient leaders, why not women as well?

I WISH that the remonstrants were as happy as I feel myself to be in the faith which I have in my own sex.

I once thought as they do, that women should not be trusted with the ballot. I knew little about women in those days, and less about the principles upon which governments are founded, at least, the principles recognized in our Declaration of Independence, which sets before the world the fact that all men are born free and equal, and entitled to certain inalienable rights.

I knew then the women of society as technically so-called, and the subordinates with whom all of us have to do. I liked or disliked individuals of my own sex, but of women as a class, as half of the human race, I had very little knowledge. In years which have passed since that time, I have seen much of the rank and file of women, and I confess that my opinion of them, as regards mental capacity and moral character, has steadily

risen with the increase of my knowledge. When a hundred thousand of them throughout the country band together to further the cause of temperance, I know that they are neither vicious disturbers of the peace, nor ignorant fanatics. When fifty thousand of them in Massachusetts petition for suffrage, I know that their signatures do not come from slums and liquor saloons, but from honest homes and honest hearts. And I know, and you know, that the men who have championed their cause are among the foremost of those who have given fame and glory to their country and their age.

But a deeper principle than the doubt regarding their own sex underlies the plea of the remonstrants. This is, the disbelief in suffrage itself. One of their cries is that they do not want to see the ignorant vote doubled. They believe

that ignorance and vice govern the country already, and that a crowd of unconvicted felons who already besiege the polls will, if suffrage is granted to women, only bring with them a corresponding crowd of female roughs and toughs. On this point, I desire to appeal to you, gentlemen. You were chosen and sent here by the rank and file of the community. Were you the choice of ignorant voters? Did the vicious element of the community come to the front in your election? If, with others, the hod carrier, the railroad hand, the factory operative, had power to elect a decent and creditable legislature, why should not the school teachers and shop girls and servant maids of Boston, with all these ladies to help them, be able to do as well?

In pleas like those I have mentioned one great truth is left out. Christ hinted

at it when he called his disciples the salt of the earth. The masses of men are necessarily ignorant of much that it concerns them to know. They need experts in every sort to think and act for them. They cannot move without leaders. Our system of government allows them to choose their own leaders. And when they have hit upon a blind leader of the blind who has gone with them into the ditch, they don't choose him a second time.

Can any one doubt to-day that women are as well able to choose their leaders, ay, and to choose them from among their fellow-women, as men are? We do not want to-day for these leaders of our own sex, reformers who understand principles, students of history, philosophy and political economy, often more willing than men are to devote their energies to the elevation of their kind. Look at

the college settlements in the slums of great cities — look at the countless charities in which the women are the ministering angels — look at the devoted missionary women who take their lives in their hands, and visit the uttermost parts of the earth, to redeem their own sex from brutality, slavery, and ignorance of all that distinguishes the divine human from the human brute. No, gentlemen, men do not vote out of their vice and ignorance, but out of their best knowledge, when they are free to use it. Do not doubt that women will do the same thing.

The preamble published by the remonstrants goes out of the direct way, in order to reprobate the use which the women of Massachusetts have made of the school vote. Their objection to the school franchise is stated to be that so few have used it. Their objection to the

municipal franchise is that so many would use it. They see danger in the vote of the few and in the vote of the many. If they consider the vote dangerous on account of its smallness, why don't they increase it by voting themselves? If, in their view, this vote has sometimes followed a mistaken lead, can you affirm that male voters have never done so? To deny the franchise because it is capable of leading to mischievous action, would be like standing beside a new-born babe and saying: "It will probably be a sinner, let us hinder it once and for all."

As to the plea of want of time, many things prove it to be futile. You, ladies, have time for embroidery, music, painting. You have time for theatre-going, for attending concerts and rehearsals, afternoon teas — for entertainments which require much care and fore-

thought. You have time enough to follow the fashions of dress with minute care and attention. How important you esteem these to be, we well know. Your entertainments are a sort of dress parade, in which every line, every color, every bit of lace or ribbon, must have a certain set, must be up to date. City elections come once a year and last one day. Could you not spare one hour of one day in the year for your country's good?

They know not what they do.

Many of the women who join us in petitioning for suffrage are women who earn their own living, often supporting their families, including an aged father or impecunious husband. They teach, write, sew, cook, do their own housework and care for their children, and they know that they could find the

little time required to give their vote. You, ladies, do not cook your dinners nor make your own clothes, nor sweep and dust your mansions, nor sit at the weary desk of the teacher day in and day out, and yet you have not time to vote. And because you have not, you with your delicate fingers would wring from the hard hand of labor its only guarantee of freedom?

EXTEMPORANEOUS SPEECH MADE AT SUFFRAGE HEARING, FEBRUARY, 1884

(Endorsed, "Written from recollection")

GENTLEMEN, after the weighty and detailed argument to which we have just listened, I hope that the charge recently made against us, of falsifying the laws of Massachusetts in order to produce a mistaken impression of their deficiencies, will be considered as having been disproved. Judge Sewall's statements have made it evident that, although these laws have been ameliorated in some respects, there is still much to be done before they will deserve to be called just and equal.

Something has certainly been done for

us. We own our clothes now, but three years ago, we did not own them. We have a right, still more recently secured to us, to be buried in our husband's burial lot. Now the women of the community know very little about existing laws, and the men who are not lawyers, know no more. The women generally did not know that these rights were denied them. I wish to say one word concerning the spirit of these laws. Like all other laws in civilized communities, they represent two things. They represent, first, the intention and desire of justice, and second, the barbarism which limits the conformity of the community to what is really just.

The law which gives to the father an especial right in the children had probably its origin in the intention to throw upon him a certain responsibility con-

cerning them. In a low state of civilization the father might abandon the children and the mother. The law was devised to prevent this.

But, gentlemen, in this twofold representation of the law, the thing we are to hold fast is the intention of justice, and not the barbarism which hindered the application of the principles of justice. The changes which are necessitated by the advance of civilization should relinquish the remnant of barbarism, holding fast the first intention. Those laws, which protected women from the older barbarism, now defraud them of the newer civilization. They cannot be too speedily modified to suit the demands of the time.

I have taken the trouble to write this down from memory because the thought,

which flashed upon me while I listened to Mr. Sewall, was new to me, at least, in this form. He did not say anything like it, but what he told about existing laws made me think of it.

Feb. 12th, 1884.

SPEECH AT LEGISLATIVE HEARING

This brief but spirited speech was delivered in protest against taking away from the women of Boston their right of voting for members of the school committee. It was evidently proposed to make the latter a smaller body and to have its members appointed instead of elected. The speech closes with a plea in defence of government by the people. It is endorsed in my mother's hand, "March 7th. Speech, extempore, written from memory."

MR. CHAIRMAN: I would come here not only once, but twenty times, to speak upon this theme, so nearly concerning the rights and liberties of the people. I have heard here some things which sur-

prise me. Is then the Boston School Committee such a nuisance that the less we have of it, the better? I remember a wise king who said, many centuries ago, that there is safety in a multitude of counsellors. Some of us have found it so. Again, I hear so much about this table around which twenty-four men cannot sit and hold easy converse. In the women's clubs with which I am familiar, such a number can easily sit around a table, and so seated, we do not speechify, but converse quite easily. But to come to the heart of the question. The change proposed in the bill appears to me a step in the wrong direction, a going back from the principle of representation. As to the concentration of responsibility on which such stress is laid, I remember a time, years ago, when the financial interests of the City of New

York were all confided to the care of some two or three men. People said: "What a good plan is this! Now the whole money responsibility of the city is concentrated in the hands of these men." And this turned out to be the Tweed ring, which was afterwards exposed and held up to the contempt of the country. And, as one of the women who have devoted much time to the attainment of the fraction of the suffrage which is conceded to us, I protest against an act which would deprive us even of that. We should have no voice in the election of the Mayor who would have the appointment of the School Board, and if he should appoint women to serve upon it, they would not represent us, as we should have had no opportunity to vote for or against them. Much has been said here of the trouble and inconvenience conse-

quent upon the method of election now in use, the trouble of investigating nominations, and of finding out which are good and which are not. Why, gentlemen, these are the troubles and inconveniences to which, as Americans, we stand pledged. The people of this great country have undertaken to govern themselves. This implies much trouble, much labor and inconvenience. Are we on that account to go back from our pledge? No — on the contrary, we are bound to go forward, to increase our labor, care and diligence. Gentlemen, my heart and soul are against this bill, and I earnestly hope and pray that it will not pass.

BOSTON A LITTLE ISLAND OF DARKNESS

Speech at a Suffrage Hearing at the State House in Boston, February 4th, 1908

This speech was made at the State House, February 4th, 1908, before the Committee on Election Laws of the Massachusetts Legislature. The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association had asked for municipal suffrage for women, and my mother's name headed the petition. She was at this time nearly eighty-nine years of age, and zero weather prevailed.

THE religion which makes me a moral agent equally with my father and brother, gives me my right and title to the citizenship which I am here to assert. I ought

to share equally with them its privileges and its duties. No man can have more at stake in the community than I have. Imposition of taxes, laws concerning public health, order and morality affect me precisely as they affect the male members of my family, and I am bound equally with them to look to the maintenance of a worthy and proper standard and status in all of these departments.

The wisdom of our ancestors decided that the ballot is the safest instrument for the maintenance of the well-being of the state. We do not claim for it infallibility in the past or in the future, nothing of human devising is infallible either in church or in state. But most of us are born with a latent sense of good, and a desire for its attainment. Education adds to this rudimentary endowment the most

precious inheritance of civilization, the thought and experience of past ages. Out of these are evolved the moral law, and the maxims of political economy. Regarding these fundamental principles which govern society we women were long kept in tutelage. Thanks to the growth of human intelligence, led by a few valorous spirits, we have now freedom to enter into this glorious heritage of the ages. With equal moral and mental capacity, we now have education equal to that enjoyed by men. Where is the deficit? Where the deficiency which bars our way to the full exercise of our social and political efficiency? We think that it must be with those who fail to interpret aright the promise of this, our twentieth century, those by whom the logic of freedom and its just conclusions are imperfectly apprehended. The

women of England have long enjoyed the privilege of the suffrage for which we ask.[1] The women of New Zealand have it. Several of our western states have granted it, distancing our slow Boston by a score or more of years. And shall we, in all this light, remain a little island of darkness?

History shows us many parallels to this state of things. The people before the flood thought that the world was clean enough as it was. No need for any Deluge to wash away its wickedness. But God thought otherwise, and the flood came. From the earliest ages of human history, through the days of Moses, through those of Christ, human progress has been resisted by those who should

[1] Municipal suffrage was first conferred on the women of England in 1869, and additional rights of franchise in county and district elections have since been granted to them. — EDITOR.

SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF AN EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, 1895

Written for the annual meeting of a suffrage association, probably that of New England, of which Mrs. Howe was president for many years. The date is apparently 1895, the year after the Constitutional Campaign in New York State (1894), and not long after the enfranchisement of the women of Colorado (1893).

MY DEAR FRIENDS: Once more you are called together in the name of a reform for which we and many others have labored and suffered through many years of hope deferred. In all these years, our annual meetings have been full of help, and from each anniversary we have

started with zeal and courage renewed by sympathy in a worthy and noble cause. I suppose that at the outset few of the suffrage workers foresaw either the length of the campaign or the breadth of ground which they would be called upon to occupy. In return for our patient maintenance of the peaceable contest, we have had the great instruction of learning how deeply our cause inheres in that of human freedom, how much of the unworthy and slavish part of human nature is interested, on the part of men, in withholding the political freedom of women, on that of women, in insisting that all shall submit to this privation. It is good for us to know that in seeking our rights we are seeking to forward the most vital interests of the community, which are placed in jeopardy by being withdrawn from the tender and watchful

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guardianship of the mothers, sisters and daughters of mankind.

In our own immediate domain we meet with many discouraging circumstances, and yet are cheered by indications of the progress, slow indeed, of the cause which we advocate. One of the features of change in the position of our question which I find most encouraging, is the fact that a number of our opponents now show a willingness to meet us in a fair field, and to hear our arguments, as well as to present their own. It has been very pitiful, I think, for us to have been taken to task and arraigned at the bar of public opinion, by adversaries of our own sex who felt themselves excused from hearing anything that we might have to say on our side of the question. This mode of procedure showed the absence of what men call "the judicial mind." It was

initiated by a small clique, and followed with zealous perseverance. But as public interest in the suffrage question has widened, the desire for fair play, which is inherent in human nature, and the wish to understand things rightly, have begun to show themselves among the remonstrants, and we are quite sure that these friends, meeting us in a new position, as advocates who have something to say, and who deserve to be listened to, will in many cases find that they are really on our side, as Rabbi Gottheil did, who, you may remember, once undertook to make a public argument against woman suffrage, and wrote to me for some suffrage literature, after perusing which he found himself a suffragist, and thenceforth spoke with all his eloquence on our side.

A most unexpected encouragement came to us last year, when the women

of the great State of New York became so fully aware of the vital importance of securing suffrage to women. Eminent men and women took the field in its behalf, and the contest, soon to be actively renewed, promises much for us. As for Colorado, Kansas, Wyoming, they beckon us onward, like brave young spirits who rebuke the tardiness and hesitation of old people. Let us follow them, I say. If Massachusetts had been willing to lead, they would have been glad to follow her. But since she would not, or could not, they must lead, and we must follow.

"LET THERE BE LIGHT"

Speech on Woman Suffrage (Date probably 1905)

I WISH that I felt able to give you some new message in favor of woman suffrage, but after so many years of pleading for it, I might despair of challenging your attention to this familiar theme by any statement which should have the attraction of novelty. The world is old, and the laws which govern it are as old as it is. Yet the world is ever renewing its life, putting on new fashions and new features. All matters of deep thought refer back to the ancient primeval truth. But upon these eternal principles experience is always casting

new light, while the great vital principle of creation is always filling the forms already received with new life.

The truths upon which is founded the demand for woman suffrage are as old as humanity. But the wonderful chain of circumstances which has made the question a practical one has been developed, link after link, by the upward progress of the race, a progress slow but sure, and now, I hope, so well guarded that it can never more be wholly impeded.

I can imagine a state of darkness as prevailing prior to the divine command which said:

"Let there be light!"

And from this darkness I can call up two spirits who should argue for and against its continuance. One of these spirits might say: "I feel that I have the

ability to perceive something with these eyes, if it were not for this blank darkness, which casts its veil over things near and far." And the other spirit would say: "Out upon thee. Art thou not satisfied with having the breath of life, and the perceptions of time and space?" Their argument might extend over aeons of time, and at length, while the weary first spirit says for the trillionth time, "Methinks we are capable of enjoying something better than darkness!" the veil is suddenly rent away, and the dawn appears.

This picture images the history not only of our sex, but of our race. The early conditions of society, when compared with the results of civilization, are as darkness to light. Now man was made for light, and the multitudes longed and prayed for a boon which, they feared,

might never be granted them. Prophetic souls, abiding on the heights of human thought, proclaimed the day which would sooner or later dawn upon the world. They were mocked and derided by many, but in some earnest souls the seed of the prophetic word sprang up and ripened into the heavenly life. In the blessed fifteenth century a new world was discovered, destined to become a refuge from the tyrannies and superstitions of the old world. And in the still more blessed nineteenth century, a new social world came into being. The great truth, formulated centuries before, but never before understood, came to men's notice, the truth that as the law of duty is universal, so is that of right, and the two must go together. Where there is duty, there must be right, and man and woman alike are entitled to

fulfil their highest duty, and to claim, in fulfilling it, the noblest right to which humanity is heir. And so, we who have long stood for the political equality of the two sexes may now say to its opponents:

"Friends, behold the dawn! The brighter day is already here. Prepare to set your thoughts and deeds in order fit for the splendor of its high noon. For the divine mandate of illumination has gone forth anew. In the vast domain of human conscience, God has again spoken the word:

"'Let there be light!'"

SPEECH ON EQUAL RIGHTS

Read at the 38th Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at Baltimore, Md., February 12, 1906.

A LONG life, if granted to us, has this advantage, of enabling us to measure somewhat the rate and direction of human progress by contrasting the status of different periods of personal experience. To me it is conceded, in my eighty-seventh year, to stand here with you, dear friends, strong in a faith which was not always mine, but which I have seen to grow like the mustard seed mentioned by Christ, which, smallest of seeds at first, became in time a stately tree, a place of

rest and relief for the birds of the air.

I can well recall the years in which I felt myself averse to the participation of women in political life. The feminine type appeared to me so precious, so indispensable to humanity, that I dreaded any enlargement of its functions, lest something of its charm and real power should therein be lost. I have often felt as if some sudden and unlooked-for revelation had been vouchsafed to me, for at my first real contact with the suffragists of, say, forty years ago, I was made to feel that womanhood is not only static, but also, and much more, dynamic, a power to move, as well as a power to stay. True womanliness must grow and not diminish, in its larger and freer exercise.

Whom did I see at that first suffrage meeting, first in my experience? Lucy

Stone, sweet-faced and silver-voiced, the very embodiment of Goethe's "eternal feminine," William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, noble advocates of human freedom; Lucretia Mott perhaps, eloquent and beautiful in her holy old age. What did I hear? Doctrine which harmonized with my dearest aspirations, extending as it did the hope which I had supposed reserved for an elect and superior few, to all the motherhood of the human race.

In my own youth, the doctrine of the superior woman prevailed. I was taught as others were, that here and there some "lovely Marcia, towering above her sex," attained the heights of human intelligence, and that such a woman might even have been the instructor of Socrates, according to his word. Here and there

some extraordinary woman was mentioned, Mary Somerville, Madame de Staël or Harriet Martineau, as fit to cope with men in matters of thought and attainment. The new teaching seemed to me to throw the door open for all women to come up higher, to live upon a higher plane of thought, and to exercise in larger and more varied fields the talents, wonderful indeed, to which such limited scope had hitherto been allowed. I felt, too, that the new freedom brought with it an identity of interest which formed a bond of sisterhood, and that the great force of co-operation would wonderfully aid the promotion of objects dear to all true women alike.

How widely we have seen this prophecy of the suffragists fulfilled, I need scarcely tell you — how women have justified their admission to the halls of

learning, how they have taught themselves to unite in the study of social conditions and in the analysis of evils, how they have worked both for the prevention and the cure of all that is radically amiss in the economy of church and state. It is a new world that we behold to-day. I find it filled with a new hope, and brightened by a new inspiration. The old helpless cry of "Only a woman," is heard no more.

And here I must take issue with a reverend gentleman who was said some time since to have proposed as a toast, "Women, formerly our superiors, now our equals." This superiority, friends, was a compliment, at best, an illusion. Of the diversity of human gifts we had, no doubt, our full share. But the talents which we were not permitted to exercise were folded and laid away in a napkin,

to moulder useless and unknown, even to ourselves. For we were not the equals of our brothers. If there is any value in education, it must obtain for women as well as for men. If there is any connection between high ideals and noble lives, it must exist for both sexes alike. If the free and legitimate exercise of mind tends to personal and social amelioration, how should it be the case with men and not with women? Say what you will, the poorer mental discipline ensured, as a consequence, the poorer moral status.

With a strange inconsistency, women were held to a stricter account than were men in matters of personal morality. Extra restraint was imposed upon them from without, form and ceremony hedged them in on every side. But now the civilized world is learning that the

only availing moral restraint comes from within.

The old theology delighted to picture mankind as naturally mean and base, redeemed from brutishness by some external force and authority. To-day, we have a truer interpretation of Christian doctrine. God made man in His own image, and a divine element in human nature answers to the divine fatherhood. The Oriental imagination pictured woman as the source of evil in the world. By her, it was said, came sin and death. Yes, but by her came also the new spirit which brought us the resurrection and the life.

I have sat in the little chapel at Bethlehem in which tradition places the birth of the Saviour. It seems fitting that it should be adorned with offerings of beautiful things. But while I mused there, a voice seemed to say to me, "Look

abroad! This divine child is a child no more. He has grown to be a man and a deliverer. Go out into the world! Find his footsteps and follow them. Work, as he did, for the redemption of mankind. Suffer as he did, if need be, derision and obloquy. Make your protest against tyranny, meanness and injustice!"

The weapon of Christian warfare is the ballot, which represents the peaceable assertion of conviction and will. Society everywhere is becoming converted to its use. Adopt it, O you women, with clean hands and a pure heart! Verify the best word written by the apostle, "In Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but a new creature," the harbinger of a new creation!

THE PATIENCE OF FAITH

(Extracts from the Opening Address at the Twelfth Annual Congress, Association for the Advancement of Women, Baltimore, Maryland.)

WE all know the current phrase, borrowed from some French speaker or writer, that a man must have the courage of his opinions. This means, I suppose, that he must be willing to stand by what he believes to be true, and if necessary, suffer for it. This courage I may assume most of us have. But there is something more that we should have, viz.: the patience of our faith. We must not work at great undertakings, expecting to see their success bloom out like flowers after a summer rain. Such success we may not

see at all, but we are bound to believe in it, because truth must succeed. We are bound to believe, too, in honest work, because truth cannot be served by falsehood.

Believing in these things, we are justified in taking courage; and let me here suggest that the belief so much insisted upon in the New Testament is a belief in these very things — the power of truth, the power of honesty, rather than a literal acceptance of statements in metaphysics, or history. This is the saving faith, which it is shameful not to have. Having it, we can work on resolutely, even though the heathen world around us should furiously rage, and the people, alas! imagine a vain thing.

. . . . . .

I wish that we may begin these sittings having "a spirit of power within," rest-

ing in a hope strong enough to uplift the world, and with a patient and sweet determination to work out the problem of our own salvation, and to let our work crown us, not our pretension or ambition. The illusions which make a small human creature great in his own eyes, which lead him to labor principally to assert that greatness, are not for us. Neither do we covet the cowardice of spirit which should make us mean and pitiful in our own eyes. The courage of the apostles, the meekness of the saints, are not like them, and as it costs no more to aim at the best things than at the poorest, let these be our mark, these our standard in what we shall endeavor to do and to say. The world around us indeed is full of wickedness which we cannot overthrow, and of misery which we cannot relieve.

What we have done seems so little

when compared with what there is to be done, that we may be tempted to pause and ask whether it is anything at all? Here it is that we need the patience and humility that I spoke of just now. Are these great things for which we work to spring up like a root out of dry ground? Will the deep principles of divine truth oversweep the earth like an army of grasshoppers, which darkens the air for a day, and then disappears? Let us go back, return to our New Testament similes of the planted seed and the hidden leaven. The faith and work of one true human life is like a mustard seed in comparison with the wild elements which surround it. But from that seed, in time a stately tree shall grow to give rest and shelter to myriads of creatures that need it. It is through no fault of ours, but through God's dispensation that the sub-

lime part of our life comes so slowly into recognition and prominence. Let us have patience then, patience with the greatness of great things which swallow up our lives like a drop in the ocean. Still is it most pleasant to work for them, most blessed to believe in them. And small as it may seem, our work as surely tells and abides, as the sun's work tells on the planets.

. . . . . .

We who are met here are met to pray and work not for our own time only, but for all time. The unborn future lays its claim upon us, as the past gives us its rich inheritance. "Be faithful over a little," is our word of command. We know that it carries along with it the great victories that are to be the victories which shall never be overthrown.

HOW TO EXTEND THE SYMPATHIES OF WOMEN

(Extract from a paper read before the Twelfth Annual Congress of the A. A. W., Baltimore, Maryland.)

THE great Apostle Paul has wisely enumerated the gifts and talents which men may owe to nature, improved by cultivation. But more wisely has he said that, without charity, these gifts profit their possessor nothing. Now, charity, in common thought, has two meanings. The first is alms-giving, the second is leniency of judgment concerning the conduct of those with whom we have to do. But not either or both of these can fill up

the measure of that heavenly grace which is the soul and spirit of Christianity. Charity, in Paul's sense, I must think to mean a deep and loving concern for our fellow-creatures. Now, I will not say how far women attain or come short of this divine grace, but I will say that without it, they must always lack the crown and glory of true womanhood. I will say too that, in the present day, the especial and providential subject of this charity is their own sex.

How does our record stand in this particular? We are held to be the very depository of personal purity, but we give up a frightful proportion of our sex to recognized pollution and degradation. Some of us live and move on a high tableland of circumstance and opportunity. All about us are the deep vales of misery and privation. The wail of women who

cannot feed their children, who break their health with overwork, or waste it in ignorant idleness, comes up to us. We shrug our shoulders, fling an alms, fill up a subscription, are very sorry, — that is all. But if we had charity, Paul's charity, we should go down into those low places, and inquire into the causes of all this misery and degradation. And then, the superfluity of our wealth would all be directed to the true alchemy, the turning of society dross into human gold. We should know what are the minds of the women who sink so low. If they are ignorant, we should have them taught. If they have no skill, they should have the chance to acquire it. If they have no faith in God, they should be instructed in His wondrous revelations. If they have nowhere a source of sympathetic help and counsel, we women who affect

to know something of life and of duty from a high standpoint, must be to them a body of helpers and counsellors.

And here, at last, I come to the point where the two themes given me to treat become one. You, society women, apply yourselves to lifting up the women of the poorer classes. Young ladies, let each one of you help some young girl who stands on the threshold of life unprovided with the skill and knowledge which are requisite to make a woman's life pure, honorable and self-supporting. Mothers, who lay your infants in a silken bed, or gather around you your well-grown children, have a care for the mothers whose infants pine in unwholesome dens, whose children, if left to themselves, will learn only the road to the gallows. Rise to the entertainment of

this true thought: "The evil which we could prevent and do not, is in that degree our fault."

The epidemics which from time to time desolate the world, usually spring from the poverty and filth of the neglected classes. They afflict society without discrimination, rich and poor alike, and so they should, so long as the rich are careless of the miserable conditions which engender them. The moral pestilence which has its victims in every city, and whose deadly influence may invade any household, is also generated in these same neglected classes. Its mysterious extent seems so vast and deep that we shudder at the thought of exploring it. Well might we fear to approach it in carelessness and ignorance. But to-day, we women, thank God, have the keys of knowledge and of freedom in our own

hands. The greatest masters are at our disposal if we wish to study the problems of society, its moral diseases and their remedy.

The prophetess of a barbarous age, Deborah, judge of Israel, praised as blessed among women the wife of the Kenite who slew with her own hand the enemy of her people. We, wives and mothers of America, must deal too with the deadly enemies of the human race. The evil that desolates society will sweep into our dwellings, and encounter us in the sacredness of our own home and hearth. Let us learn to deserve a Christian blessing for work Christianly done. Ours not the cruel nail and treacherous hammer, ours the strength of true discipline, the war against vice and frivolity in every shape, the league of love and charity, under whose banner

we can indeed return good for evil, and so bless those who would curse us, that they cannot but bless us again.

THE END.

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